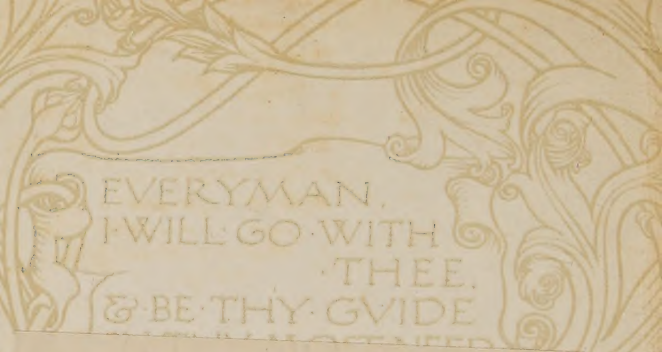


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JOHN MASEFIELD
VOLUME ONE

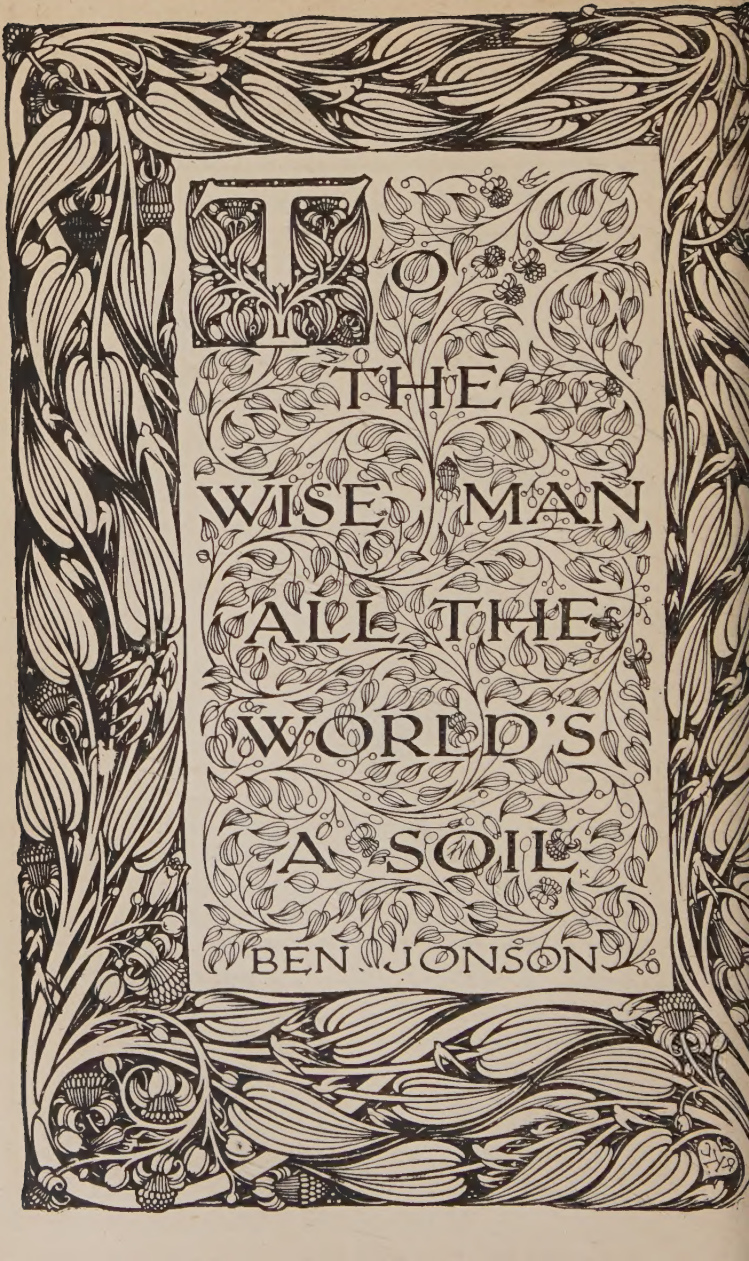
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ALL THE
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BEN JONSON

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Made by Sea or Overland to the Remote & Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeares

by RICHARD HAKLUYT

VOLUME ONE

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INTRODUCTION.

RICHARD HAKLUYT, the scholar who edited these Voyages, was born (it is thought) in London, of a good Herefordshire family, about the year 1553. He was educated at Westminster School; and it was as a Westminster boy that he received his bent towards the study of books of travel. While on a visit to the Temple his cousin (another Richard Hakluyt) showed him a map of the world, and gave him "a lesson in geography," to such good purpose that the boy, full of "rare delight," resolved, "by good assistance, to prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature," if ever he should go to the University. In 1570, while Drake was "prospecting" for his Nombre de Dios voyage, he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he soon acquired some five or six languages to help him in his study. He read all the books of Voyages, and all the mariners' journals, to be obtained at Oxford; and besides this, he studied the arts of map-making and navigation; and began to put together a first collection of Voyages (to America and the West Indies) which was published long after he had taken his degree, in the year 1582.

A year after the publication of this book he went to Paris, as chaplain to the English ambassador, with whom he remained for five years. During his stay in France he worked at his great collection, *The Principal Navigations*, which was published, in one folio volume, in 1589, the year after the Armada. In 1590 he became rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, where he must have lived until 1602, when he was made prebendary (and afterwards archdeacon) of Westminster. In 1612, he became rector of Gedney, Lincs., where, in 1616, he died, aged sixty-three.

His *Principal Navigations* were issued in their final form (three black letter folios) in 1599; but they contain only a small fraction of his life's work. He published besides these folios, a *Discourse of Western Planting*, and three or four translations from the French and the Portuguese. An immense mass of manuscript was in his possession when he died; and this was afterwards published by Samuel Purchas, in the four huge quartos of the

Pilgrims. This collection, though of great interest, is a less perfect thing than the *Principal Navigations*. Purchas was a bad, Hakluyt an almost perfect editor; and the voyages which fell into Purchas' hands were mutilated and garbled, foolishly contracted, and then published, with much foolish editorial comment.

Michael Drayton, the poet, always a felicitous critic, speaks of Hakluyt as the "industrious." Industry was a common virtue in the time of Elizabeth; but the industry of Hakluyt was extraordinary. His great work, the result of many years of weary labour, is a monument of industry. His "three severall Volumes" were only collected "after great charges and infinite cares, many watchings, toiles and travels, and wearying out of his weake body." He had to ride on many far journeys, to search into many libraries, to look through vast stacks of manuscript and black letter, and to talk with many seamen and geographers, before his great work could be begun. He was not only "industrious"; he was wise and far-seeing. In his beautiful dedications, where he reveals himself most clearly, without laying aside his humility, he shows how eager he was to advance his country among the nations. He wished that a lectureship might be established in or near London "for the banishing of our former gross ignorance in marine causes." He grieved to see Englishmen without employment, begging in the streets, or going to the gallows for petty thefts. He wished to see such wasted lives made profitable in the New World, where he writes, "we of England," might "share and part stakes" with our fore-runners; as in fact we did before Richard Hakluyt died. He had ever before him the vision of England, a queen among the nations, prosperous and peaceful, beautiful with all noble arts, busy with all honest labour, perfect in all knightly virtue. His love of England, his desire for the honour of England, "devoured all difficulties"; and pricked him forward in his "troublesome and painful" work. His *Principal Navigations* is our English epic. It is a great and noble poem, which commends the sailors of our nation, with fit humility and truth, "for their high courage and singular activity." The poets of that great period, living in the kingdom of the imagination, have left the deeds of our heroes unsung. It was left to Richard Hakluyt, a humble preacher, to bring together the stray records of them, that future ages might admire, and coming generations imitate,

"the high heart and manly resolution" of those who tried "the fortune of the sea," under such hard conditions, for the advancement of their country's honour.

The life of a sailor is pleasant only at brief intervals, when the weather is fine, the ship comfortable, and the treatment of the officers considerate. As a rule, it is a harsh life, with few pleasures to make amends for its hardships. In Elizabethan times, it was harder than it is to-day; though perhaps not very much harder than it was to those who sailed with Anson, in the middle of the eighteenth century. In considering the achievements of the Elizabethan sailors, it is well to bear in mind the conditions under which they lived and worked, when at sea; for, with those remembered, we cannot but pay more honour to their resource, their stoutness of heart, their "manly resolution." They had other dangers to fight than those of storm and calm. They put forth upon seas full of pirates, along coasts uncharted, among the cruizers of enemies and of privateers. Their ships were often slow, unseaworthy, leaky, ill-found, unhandy, and pestilential. The voyages were long and dangerous, the sea provisions often of bad quality, and the scurvy, their immediate resultant, as deadly as the plague. There will not be space in this paper to discuss the sea conditions at great length, or in detail; but a short description of the ships, their arms, equipment, and complements, may help to interest the reader in the study of our old sea history.

The Elizabethan ships were neither graceful nor beautiful. They were short, squat, and clumsy, without the lovely curving sweep from the fo'c's'le to the counter, which makes the modern iron sailing ship so perfect an image of beauty, and gives to her that indefinable air of potential swiftness. The Elizabethan shipwrights built with wood; and for various reasons it is impossible to build a long wooden ship of any great burden. The Elizabethan ship was seldom more than thrice as long as her extreme breadth.

The man-of-war was the typical Elizabethan ship. In many ways she was the greatest naval achievement of the reign. There were two general types of man-of-war, and both types had a strong professional following. The one was the "great ship" type, of ships of large size "high charged," or built up high at stern and bow, "for majesty, and terror of the enemy";

the other a flush-decked type, without forecastle and sometimes without poop, lying "low and snug in the water," unhampered by any "tottering cagework." Both types had one complete gun-deck running the length of the ship below the spar or upper deck. It is not known whether any Elizabethan ship had two complete covered gun-decks; but it is probable that no genuine two-decker then existed of the Nelson or Anson type. The high charged ships had, however, other batteries of guns in the "half decks" made by the great towering topgallant poops, and in the square forecastles forward; though these batteries, being high above the water, contained comparatively light guns. Some Elizabethan drawings show that two or more heavy guns were sometimes mounted on the half deck, or orlop, below the true gun-deck.

The "high-charged" man-of-war described.—Between the ship's superstructures of poop and forecastle, there was an open space called the waist, where the sail-trimmers did their duty, and where the smaller boats (the pinnaces and skiffs) were stowed, when the ship was at sea. The after bulkhead of the forecastle, and the forward bulkhead of the poop, were pierced for quick-firing guns, mounted so as to sweep this open space, if the ship were boarded by an enemy. The poops, of which there were sometimes two, one abaft and above the other, sloped aft at a considerable angle; and the whole elaborate counter of the ship slopingly overhung the sea for a distance of some twenty feet, without any support from the keel. The sides of the ship "tumbled home," or sloped in, considerably, so that the breadth of the spar-deck was much less than the breadth of the ship at the water line. Under the poops were the sleeping quarters of the master and captain, the steering gear and binnacle, and the great cabin, where the captain took his meals and entertained his guests. In the forecastle (a much smaller space), there was room for the berths of some of the hands, and perhaps also for some of the stores in daily use in a ship, such as coils of rope, tackles, spare blocks, marline stuff, etc. Below the upper deck was the main, gun, or berth deck, where the heavy guns were ranged in batteries, and where the men were berthed. On this deck a number of hanging canvas screens made little temporary cabins, berths, or messes, between the guns, so as to give privacy to the men. These screens could be rolled up and secured to the beams when the decks were cleared for battle. Below the gun deck there was, in some ships, a false, or partially

decked, orlop or overlop. On the decked part of this orlop stood the bread room and other store rooms, the cable tiers, and the cabins of the petty officers. Below this orlop there was the hold, containing the gravel ballast, the powder-magazines, the beer, water and provision casks ; and the ship's galley or cook-room. The galley was built upon a strong brick floor laid on the ballast ; and lying so low down in the ship its cooking fires sometimes heated and spoiled the provisions in the store rooms ; while in the tropics they made the whole ship uncomfortably hot.

The great after overhang made these ships pitch badly in anything like a sea. The bow was therefore fitted with a powerful wooden "beakhead," projecting outboard, which shattered the seas at each plunge and kept them from sweeping fore and aft. A great ship had usually a stern walk or galley, running round the stern, on which the captain could walk, or from which stern chase guns could, on occasion, be fired. Ships without high-charged sterns appear to have had no stern walk ; and in the drawings of such ships the beakhead is less prominent than in the others.

The upper works of the men of war were not uniformly coloured. The Pipe Office Accounts, quoted by Mr. Oppenheim, show that two ships were painted green and white, another red, and others "timber colour," and black and white. All had a quantity of carved and gilded work at bow and stern, and most bore a figure-head painted in fitting colours. The interiors of cabins are said to have been painted green. The ship's sides along the gun-deck, within board, were probably painted red or green, but in some instances they may have been painted white, in order that the dark decks might be made as light as possible.

The rig of the Elizabethan ship.—The rig of the Elizabethan ships (we do not speak of small craft) was not unlike that employed in sailing ships at the present time ; though they were different in one particular, they had neither jibs nor staysails to help them in working to windward. Their only head sail was the sprit sail, a square sail setting from a yard below (but attached to) the bowsprit. On the foremast, two sails were set, the foresail and foretop sail, both of which were square sails, setting from yards which could be easily lowered to the deck. The mainmast had also a square course and topsail, setting from moveable yards. The mizen mast had a lateen, or mizen yard, carrying a single fore and aft sail. If the ship had a fourth, or jigger mast (then called a

bonaventure mizen), it was rigged like the mizen, with one lateen yard and sail. The fore and main masts carried moveable topmasts, which could be easily struck in bad weather. The bowsprit, and the mizen and jigger masts were all pole, or single, spars.

The fore and main topsails were comparatively small sails. Neither they nor the courses seem to have been fitted with reef bands, and therefore their area could not have been reduced gradually as the wind increased. In fine weather the greatest Elizabethan ships may have set light top gallant sails above the topsails; but such sails are only shown in one or two drawings of the time. Another device for increasing the sail area was that of the drabler and the bonnet. The bonnet, which is not quite obsolete even now, was a strip of canvas which laced to the foot of a course. The drabler was a second strip which laced to the foot of the bonnet. The sails (especially the courses) had a great spread. The masts were comparatively short and stumpy, but the lower yards were great spars, carrying sails which must have been awkward to handle, even when the yard had been lowered down "a port last," or almost to the bulwarks. Mr. Oppenheim has shown that the favourite type of man-of-war ranged from 400 to 600 tons, while the greatest ship in the navy was of rather less than 1000 tons. This great ship's mainmast was probably about 90 feet in length, her bowsprit and foremast each rather more than 70 feet; her foreyard between 60 and 65 feet; and her mainyard, about 80 feet, or very little less than the length of the mast. Her topsail yards were only about 35 feet long, so that the topsails, which sheeted home to yards from 60 to 80 feet in length, had a much greater spread at the foot than at the head. In the ships of from 400 to 600 tons, the mainmasts varied in length according to the length of the ships' keels. The following figures will show the reader the probable approximate lengths of their principal masts and spars.

Mainmast, 70 to 85 feet.	Mainyard, 60 to 80 feet.
Foremast, 60 to 70 feet.	Foreyard, 45 to 60 feet.
Bowsprit, 60 to 70 feet.	Topsail Yard, 25 to 30 feet.

The mizen masts were made one half the length of the mainyards; and were therefore small and unimportant.

Above the lower yards on each mast there was a strong wooden platform or top, surrounded by a cagework, some four

feet high. These tops were generally armed with quick-firing guns, and manned in time of action by picked marksmen, archers and musketeers, who tried to clear the upper deck of the opposing ship by rapid fire from their guns and bows. The yard-arms and sheer poles were sometimes fitted with heavy iron sickles, known as sheer hooks, which were supposed to be of use in close actions, when the hooks could catch and tear the enemy's sails and rigging.

The armament of an Elizabethan ship.—The ships were armed with heavy (brass or iron) muzzle loading "long" guns, of considerable range; with "short," short-ranged guns of the "carronade" type; with mortar pieces; with quick-firing breech-loading guns; with calivers and arquebuses, firing both shot and heavy arrows; and with bills, pikes, bows and arrows, of the kinds then in use. The men were expected to provide their own swords and daggers; but the ship supplied them with all other weapons, and with morions and corselets, the only defensive armour usually worn.

The guns in the main batteries were pointed through portholes. The lower tiers of guns pointed through square ports, fitted with heavy swinging port-lids. The upper tiers seem to have pointed through small round ports, not fitted with lids. The guns were mounted upon four-wheeled wooden carriages, which could be run in or out by means of side and train tackles attached to the carriages and to ring bolts in the deck and bulwarks. To elevate or depress the gun, the gunner had to raise his piece by iron crows, or by wooden handspikes, so as to thrust (or to remove from) underneath it, a wedge of wood known as a quoin. To load a gun, the gun's crew had first to run the piece in, so that the loader could pass the cartridge (usually made of canvas, flannel or parchment) down the muzzle. On the top of the cartridge, a wad of oakum or ropeyarn was rammed down, then the shot, and lastly another wad. The missile was generally a smooth ball of cast iron, kept (free from rust) in racks about the hatches and along the sides of the ship; but there were many varieties of bar, chain and hail shot, each with its special use; and English gunners knew how to make and fire shells containing quick fire or other combustibles.

Priming and firing.—When the gun was loaded, the gunner primed it. He thrust a wire down the touchhole, to prick the

cartridge ; and filled the touchhole with fine mealed powder from a horn which he carried in his belt. The gun was then run out by means of the side tackles. It was brought to bear upon the mark by the insertion or withdrawal of the quoin, or by the slueing of the carriage aft or forward. When aim had been taken, the gunner took his linstock, or wooden fork, about which his match was twisted, and applied the burning end of the match to the priming in the touchhole. The gun recoiled violently, when fired ; but the force of the recoil was checked by a stout rope called the breeching, which kept the gun from flying back too far. After each discharge it was sponged out with a sheepskin mop, sometimes wetted in ley. The guns did not fire very true ; for the shot was always so much smaller than the bore of the piece that it wobbled about inside the gun, and made it impossible to aim exactly. Scales were cut upon the quoins, and perhaps upon the guns themselves, to help the gunner to lay his piece with accuracy.

Breech-loading guns, etc.—The breech-loading guns were mounted in the tops and cageworks "for murdering near at hand." They were not mounted on wheeled carriages, but on pivots, and strong wooden stanchions, upon which they could be turned raised or depressed, by one or two hands. Some of them had iron handles by which their gunners could turn them in any direction. These breech-loading guns had open "beds," or "tails," in the breech, to receive the "chambers" containing the charge. The chambers were fixed into the beds or tails by means of iron or wooden wedges. After firing, the chamber was taken out, and another driven in. These guns could be fired rapidly, some thirty times an hour, or nearly as fast as a man could fire and load ; but perhaps they were never fired quite so rapidly in action, as they would have become almost red hot, and very violent in their kick. The big M.L. guns could be fired about once in five or six minutes. If they became hot through repeated firing, they had to be sponged within and without, and allowed to rest.

Large guns were generally painted about the touchholes with the Royal arms and the name of their ship. They were very little worse than the guns in use at the time of the battle of Trafalgar. The largest gun in general use in our navy in the reign of Elizabeth was the demi cannon, which threw a ball of about 30 lbs.

and had a range of about a mile. Nelson's chief weapon was the 32 pr. gun, which carried about a mile and a half, when elevated 10 degrees. The ships were generally mounted with more guns than they needed, and the excessive strain of so many guns must have shortened their terms of service. Even merchant ships and the smaller ships of Elizabeth's navy carried powerful armaments; and our sea victories in this reign were directly due to the comparative excellence of our sea artillery; and to our recognition of the fact that a war ship is a moveable battery rather than a floating parade ground, or battering ram.

The Seamen.—The ships were manned by both volunteers and pressed men. In raids likely to bring plenty of prize-money there was probably never any want of hands. For cruizes likely to bring more hard knocks than money, there seems to have been occasional difficulty in getting enough men of the right kind. All seamen were liable to serve in the navy. When men were needed, the seaport authorities summoned the local seamen, and ordered a certain number of them to repair to a named rendezvous, giving them small sums of money for their outfit and for their "conduct" or road-money. On their arrival at the rendezvous they were drafted to particular ships, and "stationed" in watch and quarters by the masters and gunners. Until 1585, the pay of the seaman was 2½d. daily, with rations. After 1585, he received 4d. daily (paid quarterly); but besides his pay he had always a share of the prize-money earned; and a hand (if not both hands) in the pillage of all ships taken. Wounded men sometimes received small pensions, or money gifts in addition to their pay; but with all this the navy was not a popular service; for the life and pay were less attractive than in merchantmen and privateersmen.

Some, perhaps most, of the ships carried "slop-chests" or stores of clothing, mostly of canvas and calico, with thick "rug" gowns, which were sold to the men who needed them. Hammocks appear to have been issued towards the end of the 16th century; but till then, and perhaps for long afterwards, many of the seamen slept on deck, wrapped in blankets, canvas, or whatever bedding they had. The men were "messed" in messes of four together. The provisions were issued with liberality; but the quality of some of them (notably the beer) was bad; and as a rule the men received only two thirds of their allowance. They were,

however, paid for the third not issued to them. The full daily allowance for each man was as follows:

Beer,[1]	one gallon.
Biscuit or bread,	one pound.
Salt beef, or salt pork with pease,	one pound, on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays.
Salt fish, ling, or cod,	$\frac{1}{4}$ of a side on Wednesdays and Saturdays.
	$\frac{1}{8}$ of a side on Fridays.
Butter, or olive oil,	7 oz. on Wednesdays and Saturdays.
Cheese,	14 oz. on Wednesdays and Saturdays.
	$3\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and 7 oz. respectively on Fridays.[2]

The ships were dark, crowded, badly ventilated, wet and noisome. The provisions were of poor quality, the beer acid. The men who were sometimes without shifts of clothes, were often unclean in habit and person. They suffered much from epidemics of scurvy, of typhus or gaol fever, and of a kind of acute dysentery, caused, or thought to be caused, by the beer. The mortality aboard the ships was terrible; but before condemning the ships as more than ordinarily pestilential, one should remember that the whole of Elizabethan England was liable to similar epidemics, for similar reasons.

The crews of ships in commission were divided into two watches, and subdivided into stations roughly corresponding to the divisions which lasted in our service till within the memory of man. The able seamen, the best and most experienced men, who knew the art of seamanship, corresponded to the "forcastlemen" of later years. They seldom went aloft; but they set up the rigging and kept the sails trimmed, and all the gear in beautiful order. The ordinary seamen and "younkers," corresponded to the later "topmen" who did the work aloft. The cabin boys and swabbers corresponded to "waisters," the ship's scavengers and cleansers, who were unfit for other duty.

[1] It must be borne in mind that no man drank water at sea until the beer was expended.

[2] Prisoners received two thirds of the above allowances; or perhaps two thirds of the two thirds issued to the crew.

Those who offended against the rules of the service were generally flogged with a cane or a whip. Lazy, mutinous and thievish seamen, and those who slept in their watch on deck, were ducked from the yard arm, or "violently let fall into the sea, sometimes twice, sometimes three several times." Other punishments were: sousing with a bucket of water; tying to the mast with weights hung about the neck, "till their back be ready to break"; confinement to the bilboes or irons; holding a marlinespike in the mouth (for swearing); or for very grave offences, death by shooting or hanging. Those detected in a lie were placed for a week under the swabbers, to do the dirtiest work of the ship at the swabber's bidding.

The Officer.—The Captain was not always able to navigate his ship; and sometimes he was not even a seaman. He ruled the entire company, kept a muster book and an account of stores, and judged and sentenced the offenders in his complement. If the ship carried *a lieutenant*, a rank first known at the end of the Queen's reign, he acted as a captain's proxy, or as a general overseer deputed by the captain to carry on the work of the ship. Below, or in place of a lieutenant, there was the *master*, a certificated navigator, whose duties were like those of the lieutenant but more responsible. Some ships seem to have carried a *pilot*, or junior master, a man of great sea experience, who took charge when the ship was entering or leaving port. The *gunner* was the chief of a small band of men skilled in the art of gunnery. He shared with the captain the power of directing a fight. He was expected to know how to sight, mount, dismount, lay, secure, or cast loose his guns, how to make powder, "fireworks," priming powder, cartridges, etc., and to stow his magazine so that everything should be dry, ready to hand, and clean. He had to keep his guns ready primed, and a match ready lit to fire them. He and his mates were responsible for the good order of the guns and all connected with them. A master-at-arms, or *corporal*, was responsible for the small arms. He kept the bandoliers filled with cartridges, and the muskets clean and neat in racks in the armoury. The *boatswain* had charge of the ship's rigging, her boats and anchors, her sails, flags and ropes, her blocks and deadeyes. He had a whistle on which he piped before he repeated an officer's order. He and his mates acted as the ship's gaolers and executioners. A *coxwain* kept the captain's boat in order, and steered her when

the captain went ashore. He had to choose his boat's crew from the best men in the ship, and to see that they wore a gay livery or uniform. He, too, wore a whistle "to chear up and direct his Gang of Rowers." The hold was stowed and kept clean by *quartermasters*. The ship's accounts were kept, and the ship's provisions issued, by a *purser* who had to be "an able Clerk." The *steward* was the purser's assistant, with direct authority over the ship's candles and the bread-room. A *cook* ruled in the galley, to dress the provisions. A *carpenter* kept the ship in repair. A *cooper* looked after the casks (especially the beer and water casks). A *trumpeter* blew a trumpet on the poop when the ship went into action ; and also at the changing of watches, and when welcoming or losing a distinguished guest. A *chaplain* read prayers two or three times a day, preached, and celebrated the Holy Communion on Sundays, and visited the sick and wounded at odd times. A *chirurgeon* prepared and administered medicines, searched and dressed the wounded, and lived below the gun-deck, in a cabin of his own, attended by a boy, who mixed his medicines.

These officers were paid[1] (after 1582, when an old irregular system of "deadshares and rewards" was abolished) according to the size of the ships in which they served, or according to the urgency of the work in hand. The scale of wages allotted to a master from two guineas to a pound a month, to a gunner ten shillings a month (besides perquisites), to a purser and chief carpenter from 16s. 8d. to 11s. a month, and to a trumpeter, 15s. A captain drew from half-a-crown to 6s. 8d. daily, in addition to perquisites of considerable value.

Before going into action, the crew made certain preparations. A heavy canvas cloth was rigged along the ship's side, above the gun tiers, partly to hinder boarders, and partly to hide the sail trimmers working on the decks and in the open waist. This cloth was called a pavesse, or war-girdle, or close fight. It was usually painted with coats of arms in gay colours. The tops were rigged with similar cloths. Under the masts, nettings were spread, to catch wreck falling from aloft. Buckets of salt and fresh water were placed beside each gun. Powder was handed up in latten tubs from the magazine. The men were stationed at their guns

[1] Mr. Oppenheim, in his *Administration of the Royal Navy, 1509-1660*, a work of great research, gives particular details of this, and of nearly every other subject connected with Elizabethan ships.

and other quarters; a gun's crew varying from ten to two men, according to the size of the piece. Matches were lighted, and left to smoulder over tubs of water. The ports were opened, and the guns loaded and run out. The flag (St. George's cross, red upon a ground of white) was hoisted; and the trumpeter, dressed in his tabard, with his trumpet hung with a cloth of the same colour, took his station on the poop, ready to sound a point before the enemy was hailed.

Other curious details of sea-customs, and of the ordering of ships at sea, may be read in Hakluyt's book, especially in lists of ordinances and instructions, such as those issued by Sebastian Cabot in his Cathay voyage of 1553, to the ships in his squadron; and those given by the Russia merchants to the pursers in their employ.

The present volumes of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* contain his "Epistles Dedicatorie" to Sir Francis Walsingham (1589), to Lord Charles Howard (1598), and to Sir Robert Cecil (1599 and 1600); his address to the Favourable Reader (1598); his Preface to the Reader (1598); and the "Voyages to the North and North East quarters, with the Ambassages, Treatises, Privileges, Letters and other observations, depending upon these voyages." For various reasons it has been found necessary to exclude the Latin versions of the Letters and Treatises; and all those voyages and Treatises which are not English. Through the kindness of Messrs. MacLehose & Sons, the text used is that of their beautiful complete reprint, in twelve volumes, which was edited by Mr. S. Douglas Jackson.

1907. JOHN MASEFIELD.

RICHARD HAKLUYT 1552 (?)—1616.

"DIVERS Voyages touching the Discovery of America," 1582; published by the Hakluyt Society, 1850; "A particular discourse concerning Western Discoveries," written in 1584, published (Maine Historical Society), 1877; "De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris Anglerii, Decades Octo, illustratae labore et industriâ Ricardi Hakluyti," 1587, translation by Michael Lok, 1612; "The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land to the most remote and farthest

distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compass of these 1500 years," 1589. The publication which came out 1598-1600 was a larger edition of the above-work. The title page of the first volume of this edition was altered in later copies, as the account given in it of the expedition to Cadiz was suppressed. Hakluyt also completed two translations: "A notable History, containing four Voyages made by certain French Captains into Florida," 1587, was from the French journal by Laudonnière; "Virginia richly Valued, 1609," from the Portuguese work of Ferdinand de Soto; a facsimile of this was published by the Holbein Society, 1888.

The Manuscripts left by Hakluyt were in part used by Purchas in his "Pilgrimes."

The latest and best edition of "Hakluyt's Voyages" has been published by Messrs. MacLehose & Sons, of Glasgow, 1903, etc.

"Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen," 1893, etc. English Voyages, selected and edited by E. E. Speight, with Preface by Sir Clements R. Markham, 1905.

Life, by Sir C. R. Markham, 1896.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE FIRST EDITION, 1589.

To the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, Principall Secretarie to her Majestie, Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of her Majesties most honourable Privie Councell.

Right Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was removed to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises

of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and in my publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes having gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Majesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my five yeeres aboad with him in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes service, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwise have used. And that the trueth and evidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very words of Popiliniere in his booke called L'Admiral de France, and printed at Paris. Fol. 73. pag. 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in navigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens, & valeur assez, pour s'aquerir un grand honneur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur le'element qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples: qui leur doivent ceder en la structure, accommodement & police de navires: comme j'ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux. Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and

finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her passing good behavior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to undertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in severall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receive my originals: so that I have just cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of divers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his age: At nos elaborata iis abscondere atque supprimere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.

To harpe no longer upon this string, & to speake a word of that just commendation which our nation doe indeed deserve: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they have bene men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse governement of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty, had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large & loving privileges? who ever saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who ever heard of Englishman at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river

of Plate? passe and repasse the unpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Nova Hispania, further then any Christian ever passed, travers the mighty bredth of the South sea, land upon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Java, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arive at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects of this now flourishing monarchy have done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie de gestis Romanorum recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay, or China) sent Ambassadors to Rome, to intreate frindship, as moved with the fame of the majesty of the Romane Empire. And have not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccaes, and Java major, have desired the favour of her majestie, and the commerce & traffike of her people? Is it not as strange that the borne naturalles of Japan, and the Philippinaes are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing us of the state of their Easterne habitations? For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further favour both unto us and them: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants. I must confesse to have read in the excellent history intituled Origines of Joannes Goropius, a testimonie of king Henrie the viii. a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not prevented him, to have done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Knevetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua convenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Asiæ principibus facile se impetraturum sperabat, ut non solum tutò mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed ut commendatione etiam ipsorum ad confinia quoque

daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi aviditas, ut nullis pecuniis ad hoc iter necessariis se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Majestate animum, O me fœlicem, si Deus non antè & Knevettum & Regem abstulisset, quàm reversus ab hac peregrinatione fuissem, &c. But as the purpose of David the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowmed prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reserved for the person of our Salomon her gratious Majesty, whome I feare not to pronounce to have received the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

Now wheras I have alwayes noted your wisdome to have had a speciall care of the honor of her Majesty, the good reputation of our country, & the advancing of navigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to have spoken of the sea forces of Athens: and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I have bene animated in this and other my travels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne incouragements, & the manifestation both of my unfained service to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I have done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor James, a man many wayes very notably qualified.

And thus beseeching God, the giver of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoever good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leave. London the 17 of November.

Your honors most humble alwayes to be
commanded Richard Hakluyt.

THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

Richard Hakluyt to the favourable Reader.

I HAVE thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I have used in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee understand by whose friendly aide in this my travell I have bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then ingenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indevours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I have recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answere for himselfe, justifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitablie ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world.

Moreover, I meddle in this worke with the Navigations

onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the travels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I have received more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians could affoord me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered, that I stand not upon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not upon that victorious exploit not long since atchieved in our narow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army under the valiant and provident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not upon the good services of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not upon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales upon a great part of the enimies chiefest shippes, the other neere the Islands upon the great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peradventure not the last) of that imployment, that ever discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowmed countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discoverie of strange coasts, the chiefe subject of this my labour.

Thus much in brevitie shall serve thee for the generall order. Particularlie I have disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I have martialled all our voyages of any moment that have bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards us: For I find that the oldest travels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Judea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for devotions sake according to the time, although I read in Joseph Bengorion a very authenticall Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to

the siege and fearefull sacking of Jerusalem under the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men have pierced further into the East, have passed downe the mightie river Euphrates, have sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselves are herein to be read. To these I have added the Navigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within, to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the River of Senega, to the Isles of Cape Verde, to Guinea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as far as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I have produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our travailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that have bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Under this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Navigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna under the north pole: next to them in consequence, the discoveries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieve, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Nova Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towardes the river of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome, and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange journey of Master Jenkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleven hundred verstes up against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred, and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslave standing upon the mighty river of Volga: there hence above two thousand and five hundred versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship over the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels unto Georgia, Armenia,

Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscovie Marchants to the perpetuall honor of their Citie, and societie, have performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I have concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Navigations, and travailes of ours, they succeede naturallie in the third and last roome, forasmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales, in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince given to John Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discover & conquer in his name, and under his Banners unknowen Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompained with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant raigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discoverie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Majesties selfe, do approove and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Nova Hispania. Then immediatlye ensue 3. voyages made by M. John Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: upon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged

the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal advantage. The next leaves thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake upon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is joyned an action more venterous then happie of John Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed over the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe over Master Frobisher and his actions, which I have also newly though briefely printed, and as it were revived, whatsoever Master John Davis hath performed in continuing that discovery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I have faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry have risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Navigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proofe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance upon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seruiously followed, as it was cheerefully undertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in divers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of

Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Frauncis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinaes, Japan, China, and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therfore the want of the first made by Sir Frauncis Drake will be the lesse: wherein I must confesse to have taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to have inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or prevent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the services of that worthie Knight into one volume, I have yeelded unto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges, to those intended discourses.

Now for the other part of my promise, I must crave thy further patience frendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their private affection to my selfe, but chiefely for their devotion to the furtherance of this my travaile, have yelded me their severall good assistances: for I accompt him unworthy of future favours, that is not thankefull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborious travaile, it were grosse ingratitude in mee to forget, and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and love, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his frendly meanes have bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars have much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with divers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Majesties navie, and Master Anthonie Jenkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and observations in the north Regions, have much pleasured me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme travaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene received from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singuler delight have bene as it were ravished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserved with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Ussier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasourer of England.

Nowe, because peradventure it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceived of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I have contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for divers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour have bene in bringing these rawe fruits unto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION, 1598.

To the right honorable my singular good Lord, the Lord Charles Howard, Erle of Notingham, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England, Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Navigations and Discoveries of Strangers in divers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my five yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her Majesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceive, that with diligent observation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular activitie in the Search and Discoverie of the most unknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to undertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but every man to folow his private affaires: the ardent love of my countrey devoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad provoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and travels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I have collected three severall Volumes of the English Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I have not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, have brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long have lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to have bene

buried in perpetuall oblivion. The first Volume of this worke I have thus for the present brought to light, reserving the other two untill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honorable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subject and matter, might justly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the government and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted unto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscovie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first favourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discoverie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remembred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheriters of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth, are very great, and such as our Chronicles have notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time have shewed themselves so admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars, when the Emperors sister, the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Majesties Navie Roiall, environed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to understand that olde speach of the prince of Poets;

Non illi imperium pelagi sævúmque tridentem,
sed tibi sorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Majesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie service, began to cast an extraordinarie eie upon your lordship, and deeply to conceive that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull service, your L hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieved against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander under her sacred and roiall Majestie, your noble government and worthy behavior, your high wisedom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heavenly blessing of the Almightie, are shewed most evidently to have bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall never cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage unto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many brave and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon upon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that enterprise, because they be hereafter so judicially set downe, by a very grave and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprived no man of his right. Upon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very convenient to commend with all humilitie and reverence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoveries unto your Honors favourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly craving pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall favourer of the English Navigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent

in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding up of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred up to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to have a better education, then hitherto they have had; all wise men may easily judge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships have bene lost, how many worthy persons have bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impoverished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I have greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discover all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor devise of mine, it may please your Lordship to understand, that the late Emperour Charles the fift, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Major, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Navigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Sivil. The readers of which Lecture have not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also have published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and incouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of Alonso de Chavez, of Hieronymo de Chavez, and of Roderigo Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight and severe examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge

for the West Indies. Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with us. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowmed and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory; who for the increase of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three severall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here upon the Thames, the other at Kingston upon Hull, and the third at Newcastle upon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motives which induced his princely wisedome hereunto, himselfe expresseth in maner following. Ut magistri, marinarii, gubernatores, & alii officiarii navium, juventutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis navium transigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod relevamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solùm illi reficiantur, verùmetiam alii juvenes moveantur & instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cujus, doctiores & aptiores fiant navibus & aliis vasis nostris & aliorum quorumcúnque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quàm belli tempore, cum opus postulet, &c. To descend a litle lower, king Edward the sixt that prince of peerelesse hope, with the advise of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entred into the North-easterne discovery, advanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166.li. vi.s. viii.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Major (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other private uses) so his princely Majestie would have shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Navigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham, who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the advancement of Marine causes; I nothing

doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Navigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased under the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with severe and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoever it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discoverie of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet unknowen, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beseech you speake unto your Lordship, as in times past the elder Scipio spake to Cornelius Scipio Africanus: Quò sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cœlo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruantur. It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time under her most gracious and excellent Majestie, have shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conserver, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enjoy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such divine and heroical vertues. And even here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely upon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare jewels, your generous off-springs, but also upon all the rest wheresoever of that your noble and renowmed family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes
to be commanded:
Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, 1598.

A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and discourses in this first part.

HAVING for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much traveile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved, from the greedy and devouring jawes of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true joynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer unto thy view this first part of my three-fold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long & chargeable journeys I have traveiled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entred; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of private gaine, preferment, and ease I have neglected; albeit thy selfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I live and

breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment unto me.

For (to conteine my selfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme unto our English nation, to have bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape (never certainly knowen before) and of a convenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicolas and the river of Duina; as for the Portugales to have found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to have discovered unknowen landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowmed Portugale Vasques de Gama traversed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois escried unknowen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman accoast Nova Zembla, Colgoieve, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is, that our successe hath not bene correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the uncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and judicial in Cosmographie, who writ above 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, signified unto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides environed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a fleet of Phœnicians downe the Red sea; who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide upon their sterbourd (that is to say, having crossed the

Æquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Navigation, directed their course to the North, and in the space of 3. yeeres environed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan streites, and arriving in Ægypt? And doth not Plinie tel them, that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia fœlix, and put downe his whole journall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of Augustus Cæsar, the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be over-tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arrived at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not divine Plato (who lived so many ages ago, and plainely described their West Indies under the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer unto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib. de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them up, and pricke them forward unto their Westerne discoveries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load-starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed up in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to undertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting foorth for their Northeasterne discovery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to give them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid uncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselves unto the rigour of the sterne and uncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling

waves and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the unhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and unlocke the seven-fold mouth of Duina. Moreover, in their Northeasterly Navigations, upon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieve, Petzora, Joughoria, Samoedia, Nova Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigatz, unto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce even in June, July, and August, unto what hideous overfals, uncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and divers other fearefull inconveniences they were subject and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres have discovered to 78. yea (as themselves affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this proviso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch. But nowe it is high time for us to weigh our ancre, to hoise up our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portugales have made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Navigations have indured many tempests, dangers and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seeme tolerable unto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand upon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it never barred with yce, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Navigable; yea and that for the most

part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreover they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands, and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Açores, of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conveniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaves, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, silver, gold, and other precious wares, which served as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to stay them from giving over their attempts? But nowe let us leave them and returne home unto our selves.

In this Volume (friendly Reader) besides our North-easterne Discoveries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narve, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke five strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the advauncing of traffique by river and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arrivall at Newnox, his passing up the river of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslave, Rostove, Peraslave, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts travell in all. Moreover, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding unto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the majestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not having so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Jenkinsons discourse as touching

that argument, to the smooth verses of M. George Turbervile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe in the pages of this work. Unto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Johnsons strange report of the Samoeds, pag. 352. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult journey of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, up the great river of Onega, and so by other rivers and lakes to the citie of Novogrod velica upon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of observation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 395. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the rivers of Moscua, Occa and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselves within all that maine circumference, they have adventured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times over the unknowen and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman M. Anthonie Jenkinson being their first ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and there arriving at the port of Mangusla, travelled thence by Urgence and Shelisur, and by the rivers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes journey over desert and wast countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then have you a second Navigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arrivall at Shabran, his proceeding unto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his journey after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yavate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with divers

other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you have set downe in five severall voiages the successe of M. Jenkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, under the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, under Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreover, as in M. Jenkinsons travel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of living, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most lively represented unto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian Journals you may here and there observe the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subjects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of government, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this Volume, all the Ambassages and Negotiations from her Majestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him unto her Majestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiment of M. Jenkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Jerome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arrivall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismission into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Savin; and lastly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I have not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Privileges, Instructions, Observations, or any other Particulars which might serve both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally, that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection unto this discourse of Russia; I have prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and geneälogie of the Russian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes:

as likewise about the conclusion, I have signified in the branch of a letter, the last Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich unto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise have bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise have not bene of any long continuance; let us now withdraw our selves from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let us take a sleight survey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the Reader may have recourse unto the 103 page of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the judicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted unto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou observe (friendly Reader) what privileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope John, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Adventurers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend unto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted unto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious author-

izing of both their merchants to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king John his favourable safe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to have the same privileges here in England, which our English merchants enjoied abroad in their severall countreys. Or what should I signifie unto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subjects: or tell you what favours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoever was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceive of the letters & negotiations which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained upon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely setled Mart-towne for the uttering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subjects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Jungingen, and Ulricus de Jungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subjects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most usuall kinds of wares uttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well upon the coast of Norway, as every where within

the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inveterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall, or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise have bene utterly darke and unknowen to the greater part of Readers, I have set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the first originall and institution of themselves and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of revenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieved upon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall overthrow, partly by the revolt of divers Townes and Castles under their jurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with divers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise de politia conservativa maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chanceller pag. 255. of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his majesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an invaluable and huge masse of gold and silver plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and unaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to have bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to have proceeded from the mother of Evander: but take you off his utmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many lively descrip-

tions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discovery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. And notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be unpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of use; yet, so neere as the written copies would give me leave, I have most religiously without alteration observed the same: thinking it farre more convenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enjoy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a vieu of our state of merchandise under K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet provisoes, just ordinations, & gratious privileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I have not bene unmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would give me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and travels of our English nation, which have bene atchieved of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his Αρχαιονομία) I have published unto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Octher making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, unto his soveraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Navigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter unto the Russian duke Jeruslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traveile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare

them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous incivilitie of the people there inhabiting, were never yet throughly traveiled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen unto us; I have here annexed unto the said Englishmans traveile, the rare & memorable journals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that travailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadours unto the savage Tartars (who had as then wasted and overrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel unto them. The former, namely Johannes de Plano Carpini (whose journey, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great, unto the river of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered over more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could have done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus imployed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) unto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith unto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted over many large territories unto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them have so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and unmanerly welcomming they had at their first arrivall, what cold intertainment they felt in traveiling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adjacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and overspreading Empire, in registring their manifolde warres and bloody conquests,

in making relation of their hords and mooveable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their unmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall lives, their vicious maners, their slavish subjection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie unto strangers, they deserve most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall object that they have certaine incredible relations: I answere, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not avouch them under their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther, imagine that they did avouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; every one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between them both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeve ech word and syllable. Moreover sithens these two journals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters unto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitive, and could not for all that attaine unto them; and sithens they have bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they have described in their Mappes a great part of those North-eastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those unknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that ever I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerve in ought from the originals (both for the preservation of the originals themselves, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two rare jewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deepely bounden unto the right reverend, grave, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner unto her Majestie; by whose friendship and meanes I

had free accesse unto the right honor. my L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two journals and some others also.

After these Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long journey of Henry Earle of Derbie, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew divers of his captains, advanced his English colours upon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his travel into Pruis, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, under the person of his knight, doeth full judicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither have we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also have scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would give us leave) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and grouth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great navie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Hoveden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 195. and 196. of this present volume. Of which Authors some affirme the sayd Fleet to have consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze upon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage unto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoever it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme

together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soveraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought under his yoke of subjection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adjacent. And for that most of our Navigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either utterly ignorant, or but meanely skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I have for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a briefe treatise called, A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed navigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that even then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now have) first Godredus Crovan with a whole Fleet of ships, throughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arrived upon the Isle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and having subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) even through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing over from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olavus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second journey into Norway; of Sumerled his second arrival with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin upon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely upon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks unto the judiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrelike shipping

of this land, the Reader shall give me leave to borow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leave thereof: and that is in few words, that K. John passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces even in his time. Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king John, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the rest, there were divers men of warre which did valiant service at sea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 83. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentish Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchised, what gracious privileges and high prerogatives were by divers kings vouchsafed upon them, and what services they were tied unto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers, mariners, Garsons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings use; and lastly, what great exploits they performed under the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, upon 200. French ships, and under the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then have you, pag. 93. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, upon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seven hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him unto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me give you a double observation. First, that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. persons, seeme to have bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an haven towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth almost twise as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and evident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreover, the Reader may behold, pag. 172. a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great

victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recover Harflew had hired certaine Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had united their owne strength unto them) sent his brother John duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking some of their ships, and sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also overcome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naves (saieth mine Author) that is, for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

But to leave our ancient shipping, and descend unto later times; I thinke that never was any nation blessed of JEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory upon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped us, and were onely by Gods out-stretched arme overwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his judgements unto all Christendome? An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition under two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane, the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. unto the strong citie of Cadiz, I have set downe as a double epiphonema to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to have bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to deprive the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I have made bold to straine a litle curtesie with that methode which I first propounded unto my selfe.

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma

Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus and others, are by evident arguments convinced of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discoverie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors have fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to bee the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not affoord any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the briefe summe and scope of all my labours for the commonwealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed upon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankefully accept, as I have willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne partes of the World.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION, 1599.

To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretarie to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.

RIGHT honorable, having newly finished a Treatise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Levant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from thence overland to the South and Southeast parts of the world, all circumstances considered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to your selfe: wherein having begun at the highest Antiquities of this realme under the government of the Romans; next under the Saxons; and thirdly since the conquest under the Normans, I have continued the histories unto these our dayes. The time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But after that they were called hence by forren invasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and shortly after received the Christian faith, they did not onely travell to Rome, but passed further unto Jerusalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorcetshire caried the almes of king Alfred even to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich jewels into England: which jewels, as William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be seene even in his time. And this most memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Florentius Wigorniensis, a grave and woorthy Author which lived before him, and by many others since, and even by M. Foxe in his first volume of his Acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit divers other of the Saxon nation, the travels of Alured bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into Phœnicia and Syria, and the

like course of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and so downward for the space of above 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our nation to visite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not only great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but even Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible devotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselves into this glorious expedition. A sufficient proofe hereof are the voiages of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great benevolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to have gone in person to the succour of Jerusalem, the personall going into Palæstina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chivalrie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contribution of king John, and the travels of Oliver Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanvile Erle of Chester to the siege of Damiata in Ægypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that name; the journey of Henry Erle of Derbie, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4. against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ships and gallies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene prevented by death; the travel of John of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselves with invincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, lives, and livings, leaving their ease, their countries, wives and children, induced with a Zelous devotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the Christian faith. These memorable enterprises in part concealed, in part scattered, and for the most part unlooked after, I have brought together in the best Method and brevitie that I could devise. Whereunto I have annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English nation, as

of any other Christians that served in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solyman the mortall enemie of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chivalry, I have in the first place exposed and set foorth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set up in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Jugurtha, writeth in this maner: Sæpe audivi ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquaverit. I have often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed unto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could never be quenched, untill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing have I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man shall think, that an universall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the emploiment of the couragious increasing youth of this realme, he is much deceived. For there are other most convenient emploiments for all the superfluitie of every profession in this realme. For, not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is under our noses the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so sweete and holesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can

affoord, that the Spaniards themselves in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris, and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yeere before for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as also in their intercepted letters come unto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueva Spania it selfe. And on the other side their chiefest writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian John Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discovered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the seventh, and the South part thereof before any other Christian people of late hath bene planted with divers English Colonies by the royal consent of her sacred Majestie under the broad seale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, alive in the countrey. Which action, if upon a good & godly peace obtained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre up her Majesties heart to continue with her favourable countenance (as upon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred up the spirite of Isabella Queene of Castile, to advaunce the enterprise of Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people, and such others as upon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Adventurers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many great and unlooked for effects, increase her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our adversaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay unto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two convenient Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but every step we tread would yeeld us new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentrie of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now too

much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to have lesse emploiment then nowe they have, unlesse they bee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose give me leave (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and provident consideration: that in the yere one thousand five hundred eighty and seven, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris, which by the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction, had bene above twentie yeeres suppressed, assoone as that booke came to the view of that reverend and prudent Counseller Monsieur Harlac the lord chiefe Justice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Judges, in great choler they asked, who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to have concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long civill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might have had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest emploiment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence unto our selves I here omit, hastening unto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may please your Honour therefore to understand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to have bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to have continued untill the yeere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather given over (as is noted in master Gaspar Campions discreet letters to master Michael Lock and master William Winter inserted in this booke) first by occasion of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Mauneses or governours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the sayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with fourescore gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing over mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell

invasion of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Mustapha Basha. Which lamentable Tragedie I have here againe revived, that the posteritie may never forget what trust may bee given to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath advauntage and is in his choler.

Lastly, I have here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the Levant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Majestie and the Grand Signior, with the great privileges, immunities, and favours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadours in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Majestie by her extraordinary favour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Havens of Africa and Egypt: the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, even to the walles of Constantinople: the voyages over land and by river through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balsara, and downe the Persian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe over-land to Bisnagar, Cambaia, Orixa, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and even to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diverse times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. John Newbery and two other consorts departed from London with her Majesties letters written effectually in their favour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull travailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleevers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new

Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entred into league upon necessitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and have beene these many yeeres, and have used trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath travailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, have ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and use them in their service and warres? Why then should that be blamed in us, which is usuall and common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which have found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselves and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were urged to seeke further to provide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Grecke proverbe was most truely verified, That evill counsaile proveth worst to the author and deviser of the same.

Having thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remayneth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to understand, that herein I have likewise preserved, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Navigations, Traffikes, and Discoveries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, have painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, upon the coasts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere unto particulars, I have here set downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie rivers of Senega and Gambra, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cape Verde, with twelve sundry voyages

to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Isle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugales in Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and under the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approching unto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for three or foure pointes towards the East betweene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being passed outward bound, the swarving backe againe thereof towards the West, proportionally as it did before, the two wayes, the one within and the other without the Isle of S. Laurence, the dangers of privie rockes and quicksands, the running seas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and undoubted signes of land. All these and other particularities are plainly and truely here delivered by one Thomas Stevens a learned Englishman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the same from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I have added the memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster, who doth not onely recount and confirme most of the things above mentioned, but also doth acquaint us with the state of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Isle of Ceilon, with the Isles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Samatra, and those of Pulo Pinaon, with the maine land of Junçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I have likewise added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall revealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Cæsar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now living here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and observations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China, & the regions of the Tartars next adjoyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is Assi fria como Flandes, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, & that the rivers be

strongly overfrozen) and therefore I have here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, one of which I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell.

But leaving abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliver some of the reasons, that moved me to present this part of my travailes unto your Honour. The reverend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choyse of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisedome and understanding were able to censure and approove them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life.

Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Majesties inward counsailes and publike services, added to your well discharging your forren imployment (when the greatest cause in Christendome was handled) have not onely drawen mens eyes upon you, but also forcibly have moved many, and my selfe among the rest to have our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to have some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English: I then (to my no small joy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Navigations: and how carefull you were, not to be overtaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before the State and common wealth (wherein you have an extraordinarie voyce) should be farther engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke my selfe thrise happie to have these my travailes censured by your Honours

so well approved judgement. Touching the third and last motive I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your favourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes. Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe unto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall experience, as in many others so in marine causes, to oversee and peruse the same, but also upon his good report with your most favourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approve and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your favour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them unto your right Honorable and favourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honors most humble
to be commanded,
Richard Hakluyt preacher.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION, 1600.

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretary to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Councel.

RIGHT honourable, your favourable acceptance of my second volume of The English voyages offred unto you the last yere, your perusing of the same at your convenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my travailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects: these considerations have throughly animated and encouraged me to present unto your prudent censure this my third and last volume also. The subject and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called America: but by the chiefest authors The new world. New, in regard of the new and late discovery thereof made by Christopher Colon, aliàs Columbus, a Genouois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. And world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not throughly discovered, neither within the Inland nor on the coast, especially toward the North and Northwest, although on the hither side it be knowen unto us for the space of five thousand leagues at the least, compting and considering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backeside in the South Sea from the Streight of Magellan to Cape Mendoçino and Nova Albion. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A newe worlde. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and unperfect notice thereof. Which may appeare by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timæus and Critias under the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean sea without the Streight of Hercules, now called the Streight of Gibraltar,

being (as he there reporteth) bigger then Africa & Asia: And by that of Aristotle in his booke De admirandis auditionibus of the long navigation of certaine Carthaginians, who sayling forth of the aforesaid Streight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean for the space of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would have inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe governours. Moreover, above 300. yeeres after these wee have the testimony of Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7. of the like mighty yland discovered in the Westerne Ocean by the Tyrrheni, who were forbidden for certaine causes to inhabite the same by the foresaid Carthaginians. And Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold above 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discover new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the uttermost limite of the earth. For whereas Virgile had said to Augustus Cæsar, Tibi serviat ultima Thule, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the same, and saith, Nec sit terris ultima Thule. Yea Tertullian one of our most ancient and learned divines, in the beginning of his treatise de Pallio alludeth unto Plato his Westerne Atlantis, which there by another name he calleth Aeon, saying, Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur. And in his 40. chapter de Apologetico he reporteth the same to be bigger then all Africa and Asia. Of this New world and every speciall part thereof in this my third volume I have brought to light the best & most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoveries and serches of the same, giving unto every man his right, and leaving every one to mainteine his owne credit. The order observed in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine unto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of sufficient store, in divers places to use the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced unto) being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore proposing unto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe successively in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as have bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one upon

another, doe much more lighten the readers understanding, and confirme his judgement, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I observe from the highest North to the lowest South. Now where any country hath bene but seldome hanted, or any extraordinary and chiefe action occurreth, if I finde one voyage well written by two severall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those journals, as finding divers things of good moment observed in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a souldier observeth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus. But this course I take very seldome and sparingly. And albeit my worke do carry the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the greatest part are theirs, and that my travaile was chiefly undertaken for preservation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defective, there I have bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers. As in the discovery of the Grand Bay, of the mighty river of S. Laurence, of the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, of Florida, and the Inland of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira, of The gulfe of California, & the Northwesterne sea-coast to Cabo Mendoçino and Sierra Nevada: as also of the late & rich discovery of 15. provinces on the backside of Florida and Virginia, the chiefest wherof is called the kingdome of New Mexico, for the wealth, civil government, and populousnesse of the same. Moreover, because since our warres with Spaine, by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and every part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the most part unknowen unto us,) I have used the uttermost of my best endevour, to get, and having gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way availe us or annoy them, if they drive and urge us by their sullen insolencies, to continue our courses of hostilitie against them, and shall cease to seeke a good and Christian peace upon indifferent and equal conditions. What these things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may understand, if it please you to vouchsafe to reade the Catalogues

conteyning the 14. principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceive that there is no chiefe river, no port, no towne, no citie, no province of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the sea-coast. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Nova Albion on the North-west part of America, and the yle of Japan lying over against the kingdomes of Coray and China, which until these foure yeeres was never reveiled unto us, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I have here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard made from Acapulco an haven on the South sea on the coast of New Spaine, first to the Philippinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the yles of Japan, and thence to the back of the West Indies in the Northerly latitude of 37. degrees ½. In which course betweene the said ylands and the maine he found a wide and spacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene set out as a Streight, and called in most mappes The Streight of Anian. In which relation to the viceroy hee constantly affirmeth three severall times, that there is a passage that way unto the North parts of Asia. Moreover, because I perceive by a letter directed by her Majestie to the Emperour of China (and sent in the last Fleet intended for those parts by The South Sea under the charge of Benjamin Wood, chiefly set out at the charges of sir Robert Duddeley, a gentleman of excellent parts) that she useth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in his dominions, for the better instruction of our people in the state of those countries, I have brought to light certaine new advertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of Japan, and of the new conquest of the kingdome of Coray, not long since tributarie to the king of China, by Quabacondono the monarch of all the yles and princedomes of Japan; as also of the Tartars called Jezi, adjoyning on the East & Northeast parts of Coray, where I thinke the best utterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it please God hereafter to reveile unto us the passage thither by the Northwest. The most exact and true information of the North parts of China I finde in an history of

Tamerlan, which I have in French, set out within these sixe yeres by the abbat of Mortimer, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confesseth that it was long since written in the Arabian tongue by one Alhacen a wise and valiant Captaine, employed by the said mighty prince in all his conquests of the foresaid kingdome. Which history I would not have failed to have translated into English, if I had not found it learnedly done unto my hand.

And for an appendix unto the ende of my worke, I have thought it not impertinent, to exhibite to the grave and discreet judgements of those which have the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine causes of England, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation house of Sivil in Spaine, touching their government in sea-matters; together with The streight and severe examination of Pilots and Masters before they be admitted to take charge of ships, aswell by the Pilot mayor, and brotherhood of ancient Masters, as by the Kings reader of The lecture of the art of Navigation, with the time that they be enjoyned to bee his auditors, and some part of the questions that they are to answere unto. Which if they finde good and beneficial for our seamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out some fitter course of their owne, will seeke to bring such as are of that calling unto better government and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation. To leave this point, I was once minded to have added to the end of these my labours a short treatise, which I have lying by me in writing, touching The curing of hot diseases incident to traveilers in long and Southerne voyages, which treatise was written in English, no doubt of a very honest mind, by one M. George Wateson, and dedicated unto her sacred Majestie. But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, I shewed it to my worshipfull friend M. doctour Gilbert, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chiefest secrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare jewel lately set foorth by him in Latine doeth evidently declare) then in his owne profession of physicke: who assured me, after hee had perused the said treatise, that it was very defective and unperfect, and that if hee might have leasure, which that argument would require, he would either write something thereof more advisedly himselfe, or would conferre with

the whole Colledge of the Physicions, and set downe some order by common consent for the preservation of her Majesties subjects. Now as the foresaid treatise touched the cure of diseases growing in hot regions, so being requested thereunto by some in authoritie they may adde their judgements for the cure of diseases incident unto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpose may serve our peoples turnes, if they chance to prosecute the intermitted discovery by the Northwest, whereunto I finde divers worshipfull citizens at this present much inclined. Now because long since I did foresee, that my profession of divinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kinde of endevours, I have for these 3. yeeres last past encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend M. John Pory, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth.

Thus Sir I have portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more lively and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receive her with your wonted and accustomed favour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and devoted to do your honour any poore service that I may; and in the meane season will not faile unfainedly to beseech the Almighty to powre upon you the best of his temporall blessings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his joyes eternall. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

Your Honours most humble to
be commanded,
Richard Hakluyt, Preacher.

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION

Certeine testimonies concerning K. Arthur and his conquests of the North regions, taken out of the historie of the Kings of Britaine, written by Galfridus Monumetensis, and newly printed at Heidelberge, Anno 1587.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

In the yere of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, having subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof under his subjection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldavius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily unto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelve yeres.

Lib. 9 cap. 12.

After that king Arthur sending his messengers into divers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, aswell out of France, as out of the adjacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adjacent Islands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Malvasius king of Island, Doldavius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 cap. 19.

But the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed up horses, promised the king as many footmen, as every man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely, of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him.

A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of M. Lambard his Ἀρκαιονομία, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARTHUR which was sometimes the most renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are apperteining unto Norway, Sweveland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Islands of the East sea, even unto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, even under the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and savage, and had not in them the love of God nor of their neighbors, because all evill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Christians living in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worship one God, and to receive and keepe inviolably for ever, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wives of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforesayd king Arthur obteined also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway should be for ever annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with us in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne native countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase: for which cause many cruell battels have bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people have bene slaine, & the Norses have possessed many

lands and Islands of this Empire, which unto this day they doe possesse, neither could they ever afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with us by the receiving of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wives of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted unto them by the generall consent of the whole kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with us as our loving sworne brethren.

A testimonie out of the foresayd Galfridus Monumetensis, concerning the conquests of Malgo, king of England. Lib. 11. cap. 7.

Malgo succeeded Vortiporius which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then lived, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also obteined the government of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recovered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

Edwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to say, of them which inhabit to the North of the river Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule as well over the English as the British nation, except onely the people of Kent: who also brought in subjection under the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by Beda to the same purpose. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

In the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, sixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumber-

land, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the river of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus above mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Under which king, after he had once accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heavenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; insomuch, that he (which no English king had done before him) brought under his subjection all the provinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselves, or by the Britons. Moreover, he subdued unto the crowne of England (as we have above signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Westerne Islands. The principall wherof being more commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the rest, conteineth according to the estimation of the English, roome enough for 960. families, and the second for 300. and above.

The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by Ecfridus king of Northumberland, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall Hystorie.

In the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly unto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and craving Gods aid from heaven with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for revenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of Octher made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe unto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890.

Octher said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any other Norman. He sayd

that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marveilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, unlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell upon the coast, who live by hunting all the Winter, and by fishing in Summer. He said that upon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to proove and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, having upon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and upon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters use to travell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceived that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wist and remembred, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he was compelled againe to stay till he had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could travaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discovered a mightie river which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which river he stayed his course, and in conclusion turned backe againe, for he durst not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiving that on the other side of the river the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout all his voyage, he had evermore on his steereboord, a wildernesse and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way upon his leereboord was the maine ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited

and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go upon shore. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we have sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreyes adjoyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth: forsomuch as he was not upon land, nor saw any himselfe. This onely he judged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. The principall purpose of his traveile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discoverie of these coasts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fishing of horse-whales, which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne unto the king. Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so used. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, having not in length above seven elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and marveilously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. Every man payeth according to his abilitie. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of Marterns, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales skin, the other of Seales.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long

and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth upon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: and all Eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South, & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth evermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peradventure threescore miles in bredth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30. miles or above, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proveth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to traveile over in a fortnight, and in some places no more then may be traveiled in sixe dayes. Right over against this land, in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Queenes sometimes passing the mountaines, invade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes use to carie their boats upon their backs over land, and thereby invade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

The voyage of Octher out of his countrey of Halgoland into the sound of Denmarke unto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostorke.

Octher sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the South, there is a certeine port called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth, that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had every day a full winde. And he shall saile all the way along the coast, having on his steereboord, first Jutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & Jutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he came to Scirings hall, having it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man

cannot see over it: and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles up into the land. From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of Wendels, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subject. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had upon his steereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arrived in Hetha, he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland, with divers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. dayes he had upon his leereboord the Islands that are subject to Denmarke.

Wolstans navigation in the East sea, from Hetha to Trusco, which is about Dantzig.

Wolstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arrived at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually under saile. All this voyage Wenedland was still upon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subject to Denmarke. Upon his leerboord also, was Bargenland, which hath a private king, unto whom it is subject. Having left Bargenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, having them on his leerboord: all which countreys are subject to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way upon his steerboord, until he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great river which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Easterlings: and the river of Wixel runneth out of Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. There runneth also another river called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake upon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Ilsing comming out of Eastland, and Wixel out of Wenedland, fall both together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel depriveth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in every one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife

and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish. The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaves meade. There is no ale brewed among the Easterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

The navigation of King Edgar, taken out of Florentius Wigorniensis, Hoveden, and M. Dee his discourse of the Brittish Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I HAVE often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world over (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie universall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall government thereof, under the King almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this Brittish Monarchie would heretofore have followed the advantages which they have had onward, they might very well, yer this, have surpassed by justice, and godly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that ever was on earth since mans creation: and that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be utterly past, and for ever) discreetly and valiantly recover and enjoy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Brittish monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances duely and justly apperteining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & used) this may become the most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most florishing monarchie of al els (this day) in christendome. Peaceable, I say, even with the most part of the selfe same respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and ure triumphantly, whereupon his sirname was Pacificus, most aptly and justly. This peaceable king

Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past, the representation of a great part of the selfe same Idæa, which from above onely, & by no mans devise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a subject carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire under our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens utilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas congregavit naves è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago constituit, ut ad defensionem regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorum discrimina sustinerent.

O wisedome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, videlicet, prospicere, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable enjoying therof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is historically mentioned to have bene for the charges levied: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marveilous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and prevent, (and that most puissantly, and invincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischiefe forrain. O most discreet liberalitie to such excellent uses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthy subjects, of such an Imperiall and godly Governour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Navies maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be unreasonable enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for ever) recorded.

Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & Decus Ædgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus,

Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Julii obiit, & apud Glascon sepelitur.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab aliis, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy case nowe! howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation! though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Joseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and provident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorowful reverence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yerely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand navie of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Navies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

Idem quoque Ædgarus, 4000. naves congregavit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naves ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, æstate Insulam circumnavigavit: hyeme verò, judicia in Provincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

Could, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that yerely? and shall we being not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to us as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as never king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as never king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not judge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that

Saxonicall Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may bee justly counted, by which he also made evident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would royally, justly, and triumphantly enjoy the same, spite of the devil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest Prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) coulde best advise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first invincibly to fortifie the chiefe and uttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forreine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne oversight and judgement, in yeerely viewing the same in every quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at convenient leisure on land, chiefly to set foorth Gods due honour, and secondly to understand, and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left us a remembrance.

> Habebat autem præterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni provincias transire, ut intelligeret quomodo legum jura, & suorum statuta decretorum, à principibus observarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præjudicium passi, opprimerentur, diligenter investigare solebat: in uno fortitudini, in altero Justitiæ studens, & Reipub. regníque utilitati consulens in utroque. Hinc hostibus circumquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreverat subditorum.

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subjects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and travels for the marveilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall

commodities of this land, abounding here above our necessary uses (and due store reserved) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not superfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or forrein countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly providence, Reipub. Regnique utilitati consulens, &c. besides with great utilitie and profite publique foreseene, and by his meanes enjoyed, he himselfe used most gladly the advantage of that securitie, in ministring of justice, or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome over, not squemishly, frowningly or skornefully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeve of any suppliant, holding up to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contrived, or afrayde at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble limmed suter, extreemely constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smoothering his owne conscience, to favour or mainteine the foule fault and trespasse unlawfull of any his subjects, how mightie or necessary soever, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes à potentibus præjudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie from forrein foe abroad, and true love of his owne subjects, garding him at home, and the heavenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause justice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countreis have made their lives Comicotragical) but with all his foresaide invincible Seaforce, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Justice over all his Monarchie prevailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heavenly and everlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him undoubtedly testifie: As this, for one.

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regum, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus omniúmque Regum, Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarúmque nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Im-

perium sic ampliavit, & exaltavit super regnum patrum meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti sunt à tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorum ultra ejus fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Divinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, usque Noruegiam, maximámque partem Hyberniæ, cum sua nobilissima Civitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subjugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperiis colla subdere (Dei favente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & ejus servitium amplificare devotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui, effeci, &c.

And againe this in another Monument.

Omnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego Ædgarus Basileus dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrísque diebus (plus æquo) servitus ejus tepescere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperii anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc privilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmavi.

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most evident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priviledge granted by God and nature unto this British monarchie, might have bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and favour of the divine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enjoye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past have either

by intent gone about, or by wise and valiant exploit, have meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet never any other reasonable meanes was used, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contrived, to al purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces prevailing, and so by our invincible enjoying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall service of threescore good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 8o. ships (great and smal) with 666o. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for service both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order, as partly I have in other places declared, and further (upon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand navie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand ships, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so invincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their service, the godly and Imperial successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical incouragements to us left, even now to bee as provident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilful of our sea right and royal limits, and wisely to finde our selves as able to recover and enjoy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely sayling about this Brittish Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adjacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession, find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soveraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, environing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adjacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious jewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniúmque Regum, Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumjacentis,

cunctarúmque nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside into Hungarie, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by Florentius Wigorniensis pag. 391.

Edric counselled king Kanutus to murther the yong princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seemed a thing very dishonourable unto him to have them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a short space, unto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend unto Canutus his bloody request, but sent them unto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nourished and preserved alive. The one whereof namely Edmund in processe of time there deceased. But Edward received to wife Agatha daughter unto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie.

In the yeere of our Lord 1066. Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome; against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the English winning the fielde put all the Norwegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus sirnamed Crovan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired unto Godred sonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably enterteined by him.

In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England, and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crovan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed unto Man, and giving battell unto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also having gathered his armie and ships together, hee came unto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away.

Yea, the third time he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night unto the port which is called Ramsa, hid 300. of his men in a wood standing upon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner up, but the Mannians arranged themselves and with great furie set upon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300. men rising out of their ambush, and comming upon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw y^t^ they were overcome and had no place of refuge to retire unto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the river of Ramsa) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their lives. Then hee being mooved with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would divide Man among themselves and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne unto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselves with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and unto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, upon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that unto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the revenues thereof pertaine unto him. Also Godredus subdued Dublin unto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with above three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olavus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seven yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. After-

ward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking upon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which journey also he died.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands having intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers unto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, untill Olavus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended unto their request, and sent unto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should governe that kingdome, which of right belonged not unto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained unto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, usurped the government with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselves against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more unto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come unto the Island of Leodus, hee sent messengers unto all the princes of the Islands to come unto him, commaunding them to assemble themselves, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, ravished women and virgines, and addicted themselves to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things were reported unto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselves to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming upon him in the night, they burnt the house wherein hee was, and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword, and partly with fire.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Cistertium was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochia was taken by the Christians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreover, the same yeere there was a battel fought

betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwat, and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olavus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the corps of S. Olavus king and Martyr, gave commaundement that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had seene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came upon him, and he departed with great haste. The night following Olavus king and Martyr appeared unto him in a vision, saying: Chuse (I say) unto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and never to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his Princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision unto them. And they also being astonished thereat gave him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay caused a Navie of 160. ships to be provided, and so sailed unto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering them, at length he came unto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arrived, but hee went unto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet unburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe, that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it unto his shore for the building of his fortes. Hee sailed on further unto the Isle of Anglesey neere unto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts unto him, and so bidding them farewell he

returned unto Man. Unto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, upon the birth-day of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare unto them, that he was subject unto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they tooke it grievously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better advised, I had rather (said he) not only beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one province in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably enterteined his Embassadours. Many gifts also he sent unto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning unto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and of the holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolved to conquer all Irland unto himselfe. And for the same purpose he commaunded that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had undiscreetly departed from his Navie, he was suddenly invironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere unto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned sixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Islands sent for Olavus the sonne of Godredus Crovan, who lived in the Court of Henry King of England son unto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olavus sonne of Godredus Crovan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He tooke to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married unto Sumerledus king of Herergaidel, which afterward occasioned the overthrow of the whole kingdome of the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olavus.

In the yeere 1134. Olavus gave unto Yvo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin. Also hee

inriched with revenues and indued with priviledges al places of religion within his Islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus ye son of Olavus sailed unto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage unto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably enterteined. The same yere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother unto Olavus, who were brought up at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitives and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted unto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants conspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselves unto the haven towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stoode a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come unto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would have saluted him, and lifting up his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. Nowe having committed this outragious vilanie, within a short space they divided the Island betweene themselves, and gathering an armie together sailed unto Galway, intending to subdue that also; howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselves, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled unto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olavus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in revenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king

of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridelis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen unto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned unto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whom one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went unto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Islands, and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, providing a Navie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: and in the yeere 1156. upon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and divided the kingdome of the Islands among themselves, and it continued two kingdomes from that day unto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled injoyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came unto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed unto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arrived at Rhinfrin, intending to subdue all Scotland unto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods just judgement being overcome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to usurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots, and his brother William succeeded in the kingdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August, before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed

into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. John Curcy conquered Ulster unto himselfe. And at the same time also Vivianus legate from the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded unto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irland, mother of Olavus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Silvanus the abbat married them, unto whom the very same day, king Godred gave a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted unto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselves put him, & almost al his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was ecclipsed upon the feast of S. Philip and Jacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, upon the 4. of the Ides of November, and the next sommer his body was translated unto the island of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olavus, and Yvarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olavus to be his heire apparant, because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olavus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent unto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne over the islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remooved unto Dufglas, howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned unto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michael bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy invaded Ulster with an armie and encountered with John de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Ulster unto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said John to goe at libertie, who comming unto king Reginald was honourably enterteined by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for John de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of S. Mary de jugo domini, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. John de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands invading Ulster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy comming upon them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy never recovered his land. In the yere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

At the same time John king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it unto himselfe: and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, unto the isle of Man, his souldiers almost utterly wasted it in the space of 15. dayes, and having taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Ulster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olavus.

Reginald gave unto his brother Olavus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do live for the most part upon hunting and fishing. Olavus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his folowers, hee went boldly unto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise unto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of

the islands pertained unto me by right of inheritance, howbeit because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not envie that honour unto you, neither doeth it any whit grieve mee that you are exalted unto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to provide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly live. For the Island of Lewis which you gave me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow, when Olavus was sent for to parle, Reginald commanded him to be attached, and to be caried unto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine prisoner: and Olavus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olavus therefore being at libertie came unto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his journey unto S. James: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olavus to take unto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german unto his owne wife, & by name being called Lavon, and he granted unto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands having gathered a Synod, separated Olavus and Godred his sonne, and Lavon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german unto his former wife. Afterward Olavus maried Scristina daughter unto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters unto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olavus. Which commandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for ye same purpose, Olavus fled in a litle skiffe unto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the Islands, because he would not consent unto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olavus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olavus, they went both in a ship unto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained

secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called ye isle of S. Columba. And uniting unto themselves their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, having lanched 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they environed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselves beset with their enemies on all sides, they were utterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselves they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olavus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with al their souldiers, entred the Island, and having slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Unto which action Olavus gave not his consent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olavus having received pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32. ships sailed unto Man, and arrived at Rognolfwaht. At the same time Reginald and Olavus divided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselves, Man being granted unto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olavus having received certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, unto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking unto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subjects of Man, sailed unto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olavus, which he had granted unto him, and subdue it unto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olavus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home unto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, under pretense of going unto the Court of his lord the king of England, received an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his journey unto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olavus, and appointed him to be their king.

In the yeere 1226. Olavus recovered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had governed for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olavus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed unto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came unto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coulde take, insomuch, that the South part of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leaving behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather up and render unto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olavus came suddenly upon them, chaced them away and recovered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to unite themselves, and to inhabite without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, upon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with five ships, and burnt all the ships of his brother Olavus, and of the nobles of Man, at the Isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured unto himselfe all the Islanders upon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would adventure their lives, untill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrarywise Olavus joyned unto himselfe them of the North part, & upon the 14. of February in the place called Tingvalla, a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olavus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the south part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Russin conveyed the body of K. Reginald, unto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olavus traveiled unto the king of Norway, but before he was arrived there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund, to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with

Olavus & Godred Don the son of Reginald, and a multitude of Norwegians, unto the islands: and while they were giving an assault unto a castle in the island of Both, Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olavus, with Godredus Don, & certeine Norwegians unto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselves, Olavus stil reteining Man. Godred as he was going unto the islands, was slaine in the isle of Lewis, & Olavus injoyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. upon the 12. of the Kalends of June, Olavus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was alive, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his journey unto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Joseph unto Man, that they might enter into consultation together. Wherfore the 25. day they assembled themselves at Tingvalla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Joseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olavus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway unto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Norwegian king, because the said Harald refused to come unto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went unto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed unto him, his heires and successors, under seale, all the islands which his predecessors enjoyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway

unto Man, and being honourably received by the inhabitants, he lived in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yeere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere unto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olavus, and brother unto Harald began to reigne the day next before the Nones of May: and upon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yvarus a souldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine medow, neere unto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots provided a great navie of ships, that he might conquere the islands unto himselfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kerwary, he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don usurped the name of a king over the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olavus, and ordeined his fugitives to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went unto the king of Norway, who deteined him in prison because he had unjustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olavus, and John the sonne of Dugalt arrived at Roghalwaht, which John named himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grievously, that Magnus was not nominated, drave them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olavus unto Man, and was ordeined king. The yere folowing he tooke his journey unto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the sonne of Olavus king of the Islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name unto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his journey into

England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In ye yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieving ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olavus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of S. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated unto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a divers kinde from the former.

In the yeere 1270. upon the seventh day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arrived at Roghalwath, and the next day before the Sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Five hundreth fourtie men are slaine: against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selves, for feare of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots besieged the castle of Russin, which Dingaway Dowil held against him, howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316. upon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandevile and his brethren, with divers great personages of Irland arrived at Ramaldwath, demaunding to have victuals and money ministred unto them, because they had bene spoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre upon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would give nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come under the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where John Mandevile remained, and there having fought a battell, the Irish overcame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russin also: and when they had reveled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they returned home.

The mariage of the daughter of Harald, slaine by William the Conquerour, unto Jeruslaus duke of Russia, taken out of the 9. Booke of the Danish historie written by Saxo Grammaticus. An. D. 1067.

HARALD being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselves immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deserts received in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage upon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subjects Jarislaus. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the joyfull birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament unto both nations.

The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports from Edward the Confessour and William the Conquerour, and so downe to Edward the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. Willaim Lambert in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

I FINDE in the booke of the generall survey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Matthew Parise saith) it spared no man but judged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Dover, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confessour, discharged almost of all maner of imposicions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such service to bee done by them upon the Sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable conjecture, that the immunitie of the haven Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the Five Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leave my conjecture, and

leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of K. Edwards first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Five Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what service they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priviledges they have therefore, and by what persons they have bene governed.

If I should judge by the common, and rude verse,

Dover, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I must say, that Dover, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Five Ports: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also have their Barons as well as the other: and so should I not onely, not shew which were the first Five, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnesse. Leaving the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which lived under K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (above three hundreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Justice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, because they used to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of justice) setteth forth a special fourme of writs, to be directed severally to the Bailifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Dover, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Justices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as

should be given in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreover, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes contention betweene them of the Five Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke and Donwich in Suffolke, there should be severall writs directed to them also, returnable before the same Justices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the Five Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to receive according to law and Justice.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Five Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controversie that long time since was betweene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to prove, that Hastings, and Hithe, Dover, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Five principall havens or Ports, which were endowed with priviledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gave therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & divers other lands in Lincolneshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience & excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and goverance of the Five ports, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priviledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no punishment unto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the first that apparelled them with that preeminence.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Dover, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priviledge: which (because they were 5. in number) both at the first gave, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principals, but divers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shalbe said, as touching the services that these Ports of duetie owe, and in deed have done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, upon their owne charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall bee made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Dover with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like service. But now whether this (like) ought to be understoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and service, or of the (like) in respect of service, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take upon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the five Ports were subject to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first layd upon them: And on the other side, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leaving this as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proofe. And first I will have recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre in which I read, that At ech time that the King passeth over the sea, the Ports ought to rigge up fiftie and seven ships, (whereof every one to have twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

And thus it stoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I have seene two divers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to have bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Dover Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.
The lowie of Pevensey, one.
Bulverhithe and Petit Jahn, one.
Bekesborne in Kent, seven.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.
The towne of Rie, five.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seven.
The Port of Hythe, five.
The Port of Dover, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seven.
The towne of Feversham, seven.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. five.

These ships they ought to finde upon fortie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine five dayes together at their owne costs, giving to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after those five dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Five Ports of our soveraigne Lord the King having liberties, which other Ports have not: Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Dover, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The services due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in every ship 21. men,

and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Pevenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in every ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westhethe.

Dover 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it perteine, Folkstane, Feversham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5. ships, as Romenal, and Hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculver, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of ships 57.

Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This service, the Barons of the Five Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, upon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serve so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, have place at this day, I must referre it to them that be privie, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leaving this also undecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being devised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie over the narrow Seas) the Ports have not onely most diligently ever since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaved themselves against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene profered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

And amongst other feats not unwoorthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in

the life of King John, and had sent into France for new supply of souldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Dover) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the woodden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of French men upon the high seas, gave them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the service of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull service (and especially their good endevour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and motive of that his liberall grant.

Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same king, an hundreth saile of the Navie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithstanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the fourth, the navie of the Five Ports, under the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no woorse merchandize.

The priviledges of these Ports, being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants have by reason of the same.

Part of an Epistle written by one Yvo of Narbona unto the Archbishop of Burdeaux, conteining the confession of an Englishman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the Tartars, which had lived long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition against Hungarie: Recorded by Mathew Paris in the yere of our Lord 1243.

The Lord therefore being provoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed among us

Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemie, and a dreadfull avenger. This I may justly affirme to be true, because an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, even the rod of Gods anger, overrunneth, and utterly wasteth infinite countreyes, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had surprised by treason, layd siege unto the very same towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of souldiers: neither were there in the sayd towne on our part above 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. crosbowes, the captaine had left in garrison. All these, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaste armie, and abhorring the beastly crueltie of Anti-christ his complices, signified foorthwith unto their governour, the hideous lamentations of his Christian subjects, who suddenly being surprised in all the province adjoyning, without any difference or respect of condition, fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carkeises, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutish and savage followers, glutting themselves, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it is to consider, that the greedie and ravenous vultures disdeined to praye upon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gave, as it were, for dayly sustenance, unto their Canibals: the beautifull devoured they not, but smothered them lamenting and scritching, with forced and unnaturall ravishments. Like barbarous miscreants, they quelled virgins unto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for deinties unto their magistrates, they engorged themselves with their bodies.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accursed crew immediatly vanished, and all those Tartarian vagabonds retired themselves into the distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie; who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on

the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the sayd fugitives, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to be an English man, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall king of the Tartars, had bene twise, as a messenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling those mischiefes which afterward happened, unlesse he would submit himselfe and his kingdome unto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the trueth, he made such oathes and protestations, as (I thinke) the devill himselfe would have beene trusted for. First therefore he reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, having lost all that he had in the citie of Acon at dice, even in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cappe onely, being shaven like a foole, and uttering an uncoth noise as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his journey, and so traveiling many countreyes, and finding in divers places friendly enterteinment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a season, albeit every day by rashnesse of speech, and inconstancie of heart, he endangered himselfe to the devill. At length, by reason of extreame travaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in Caldea, he fell into a grievous sickenesse, insomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and staying there a while to refresh himselfe, he began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which hee heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce, and to utter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a native member of that countrey: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the Tartars having intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion over the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull service, by reason that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their maners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies,

of their countrey and maner of fighting &c, he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were above all men, covetous, hasty, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted upon them by their superiours, they are restreined from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne feasts unto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselves alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardie and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-shouldred, having flatte and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their upper jawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their foreheads downe to their noses, their eies inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame joynts strong with bones and sinewes, having thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall unto us in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplied in the upper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land utterly desert and waste, situated far beyond Chaldea, from whence they have expelled Lions, Beares, & such like untamed beasts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beasts being tanned, they use to shape for themselves light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound unto their horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and mainteined with little provender. They use to fight constantly and valiantly with javelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But specially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are slightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselves from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standerd of their Generall give backe. Vanquished, they aske no favour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world under their owne subjection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They have 60000. Courriers, who being sent before upon light horses to prepare a place

for the armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes journey. And suddenly diffusing themselves over an whole province, and surprising all the people thereof unarmed, unprovided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the king or prince of the land invaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say, that they will make a voyage to Colen, to fetch home the three wise kings into their owne countrey; sometimes to punish the avarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquere barbarous and Northern nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feats and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. James of Galicia. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine undiscreet governors concluding a league with them, have granted them free passage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruine and destruction unto the foresayd governours &c.

Part of the great Charter granted by king Edward the first to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the sixt yeere of his reigne 1278. for their good services done unto him by sea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry the second, king Richard the first, king John, and Henry the third continued unto them.

EDWARD by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gascoigne, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Justices, Shirifs, Provosts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true subjects greeting. You shall knowe that for the faithfull service that our Barons of the five Ports hitherto to our predecessors kings of England, & unto us lately in our armie of Wales have done, and for their good service to us and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we have granted & by this our Charter confirmed for

us and our heires, to the same our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they shall be free from all toll, and from all custome; that is to say from all lastage, fallage, passage, cariage, rivage, asponsage, and from all wrecke, and from all their sale, carying and recarying through all our realme and dominion, with socke and souke, toll and theme. And that they shall have Infangthefe, and that they shall be wreckefree, lastagefree, and lovecopfree. And that they shall have Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by us thereof made perpetually to bee observed. And also that they are free from all shires and hundreds: so that if any person will plead against them, they shall not aunswere nor pleade otherwise then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great grandfather: And that they shall have their findelles in the sea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandises as our freemen. And that they have their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land wheresoever they shall come. And that they shall be free for ever of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father they possessed: that is to say in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of summonces before our Justices to any maner of pleadings, journeying in what shire soever their lands are. So that they shall not be bound to come before the Justices aforesaid, except any of the same Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they shall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to say, at Shepeway. And that they have their liberties and freedomes from hencefoorth, as they and their predecessors have had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward, William the first, William the second, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king John our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters: as the same Charters which the same our Barons thereof have, and which we have seene, doe reasonably testifie. And we forbid that no man unjustly trouble them nor their marchandise upon our forfeyture of ten pounds. So nevertheless, that when the same Barons shall fayle in doing of Justice or in

receiving of Justice, our Warden, and the wardens of our heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time shall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full Justice. So also that the sayd Barons and their heires, do unto us and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full service of 57. shippes at their costs by the space of fifteene dayes at our somounce, or at the somounce of our heires. We have granted also unto them of our speciall grace that they have Outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesayd, in the same maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, have in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Assises, Juries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do travaile of our right prise, that is to say, of one tunne before the mast, and of another behind the maste. We have granted furthermore unto the said Barons for us and our heires, that they for ever have this liberty, that is to say, That we or our heires shall not have the wardship or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayde, for the which they doe their service aforesayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardships and mariages in time past. But we our aforesayd confirmation upon the liberties and freedomes aforesayde, and our grants following to them of our especiall grace, of newe have caused to be made, saving alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And saving unto us and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and surely command for us and our heires that the aforesaid Barons and their heires for ever have all the aforesaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforesaid Charters do reasonably testifie. And that of our especial grace they have outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesaid after the maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons have in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Assises, Juries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they travaile of our right price or custome, that is to say of one tunne of wine before the maste, and of another tunne behinde the maste. And that likewise for

ever they have the libertie aforesayde: that is to say: That wee and our heires have not the wardships or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayd, for which they doe their service aforesaid, and for which wee and our predecessors the wardships and mariages have not had in times past. But our aforesayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforesaid and other grants following to them of our especiall grace of new we have caused to bee made. Saving alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And saving unto us and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforesayd. These being witnesses, the reverend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior povincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our uncle, Roger of the dead sea, Roger of Clifford, Master Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Master Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of East Riding, Master Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steven of Pennester, Frances of Bonava, John of Lenetotes, John of Metingham and others. Given by our hand at Westminster the fourteenth day of June, in the sixth yeare of our reigne.

The roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice, extant in the kings great wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those dayes may appeare.

The South fleete.

The Kings	Shippes 25. Mariners 419.	Lyme	Ships 4. Mariners 62.
London	Shippes 25. Mariners 662.	Seton	Ships 2. Mariners 25.
Aileford	Shippes 2. Mariners 24.	Sydmouth	Ships 3. Mariners 62.
Hoo	Shippes 2. Mariners 24.	Exmouth	Ships 10. Mariners 193.
Maydstone	Shippes 2. Mariners 51.	Tegmouth	Ships 7. Mariners 120.
Hope	Shippes 2. Mariners 59.	Dartmouth	Ships 31. Mariners 757.
New Hithe	Shippes 5. Mariners 49.	Portsmouth	Ships 5. Mariners 96.

Margat	Shippes 15. Mariners 160.	Plimouth	Ships 26. Mariners 603.
Motue, or Morne	Shippes 2. Mariners 22.	Loo	Ships 20. Mariners 315.
Feversham	Shippes 2. Mariners 25.	Yalme	Ships 2. Mariners 47.
Sandwich	Ships 22. Mariners 504.	Fowey, or Foy	Ships 47. Mariners 770.
Dover	Ships 16. Mariners 336.	Bristol	Ships 22. Mariners 608.
Wight	Ships 13. Mariners 220.	Tenmouth	Ships 2. Mariners 25.
Winchelsey	Ships 21. Mariners 596.	Hasting	Ships 5. Mariners 96.
Waymouth	Ships 15. Mariners 263.	Romney	Ships 4. Mariners 65.
Rye	Ships 9. Mariners 156.	Swanzey	Ships 1. Mariners 29.
Hithe	Ships 6. Mariners 122.	Ilfercombe	Ships 6. Mariners 79.
Shoreham	Ships 20. Mariners 329.	Patrickestowe, or Padstow	Ships 2. Mariners 27.
Soford, or Seford	Ships 5. Mariners 80.	Polerwan	Ships 1. Mariners 60.
Newmouth	Ships 2. Mariners 18.	Wadworth	Ships 1. Mariners 14.
Hamowlhooke	Ships 7. Mariners 117.	Kardife	Ships 1. Mariners 51.
Hoke	Ships 11. Mariners 208.	Brigwater	Ships 1. Mariners 15.
Southampton	Ships 21. Mariners 576.	Kaermarthen	Ships 1. Mariners 16.
Leymington	Ships 9. Mariners 159.	Caileches-worth	Ships 1. Mariners 12.
Poole	Ships 4. Mariners 94.	Mulbrooke	Ships 1 Mariners 12.
Warham	Ships 3. Mariners 59.	Summe of the South fleete.	Ships 493. Mariners 9630.

The North fleete.

Bamburgh	Ships 1. Mariners 9.	Woodhouse	Ships 1. Mariners 22.
Newcastle	Ships 17. Mariners 314.	Strokhithe	Ships 1. Mariners 10.

Walcrich	Ships 1. Mariners 12.	Barton	Ships 3. Mariners 30.
Hertilpoole	Ships 5. Mariners 145.	Swinefleete	Ships 1. Mariners 11.
Hull	Ships 16. Mariners 466.	Saltfleet	Ships 2. Mariners 49.
Yorke	Ships 1. Mariners 9.	Grimesby	Ships 11. Mariners 171.
Ravenser	Ships 1. Mariners 27.	Waynefleet	Ships 2. Mariners 49.
Wrangle	Ships 1. Mariners 8.	Mersey	Ships 1. Mariners 6.
Lenne, or Linne	Ships 16. Mariners 382.	Brightlingsey	Ships 5. Mariners 61.
Blackney	Ships 2. Mariners 38.	Colchester	Ships 5. Mariners 90.
Scarborough	Ships 1. Mariners 19.	Whitbanes	Ships 1. Mariners 17.
Yernmouth, or Yermouth	Ships 43. Mariners 1950. or 1075.	Malden	Ships 2. Mariners 32.
Donwich	Ships 6. Mariners 102.	Derwen	Ships 1. Mariners 15.
Orford	Ships 3. Mariners 62.	Boston	Ships 17. Mariners 361.
Goford	Ships 13. Mariners 303.	Swinhumber	Ships 1. Mariners 32.
Herwich	Ships 14. Mariners 283.	Barton	Ships 5. Mariners 91.
Ipswich	Ships 12. Mariners 239.	The Summe of the North fleete.	Ships 217. Mariners 4521.

The summe totall of all the English fleete { Ships 700. Mariners 14151.

Estrangers their ships and mariners.

Bayon	Ships 15. Mariners 439.	Flanders	Ships 14. Mariners 133.
Spayne	Ships 7. Mariners 184.	Gelderland	Ships 1. Mariners 24.
Ireland	Ships 1. Mariners 25.		

The summe of all the Estrangers { Ships 38. Mariners 805.

THE summe of expenses aswell of wages, & prests, as for the expenses of the kings houses, and for other gifts and rewards, shippes and other things necessary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during the siege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the said king, unto the foure and twentieth day of November in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundreth xxxvii. thousand li. ix.s. iiii.d.

A note out of Thomas Walsingham touching the huge Fleete of eleven hundred well furnished ships wherewith king Edward the third passed over unto Calais in the yeere 1359.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1359. John the French king craftily, and under pretence of peace, offered unto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gascoigne, and other territories which he had spoyled and wasted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foresaid king Edward sent his ambassadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainsaied them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being provoked, speedily prepared himselfe and his forces to crosse the seas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaster and almost all his Nobles, with a thousand wagons and cartes attending upon them. And the said king had at Sandwich eleven hundred ships exceedingly well furnished: with which preparation he passed over the seas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leaving his yonger sonne Thomas of Woodstocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of Nicholas de Lynna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate under the North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

TOUCHING the description of the North partes, I have taken the same out of the voyage of James Cnoyen of Hartzevan Buske, which alleageth certaine conquests of

Arthur king of Britaine: and the most part, and chiefest things among the rest, he learned of a certaine priest in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This priest was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leaving them, and passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he sawe, and tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) have set downe in my mappe, and as I have taken it out of the aforesaid James Cnoyen. Hee sayd that those foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with so great a force, that the ships which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driven backe againe, and that there is never in those parts so much winde blowing, as might be sufficient to drive a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrensis (who florished in the yeere 1210, under king John) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with these. videlicet:

Not farre from these Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the sea, whereinto all the waves of the sea from farre have their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conveying themselves into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed up, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with such a violence of the waves, that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole devoureth the same.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe conjecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, have their first originall.

A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master John Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna.

Anno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northren Islands of the world,

and there leaving his company together, hee travailed alone, and purposely described all the Northerne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he delivered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inventio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. usque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did five times passe from England thither, and home againe.

It is to be noted, that from the haven of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Franciscan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not above a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and usuall trade: which further appeareth by the privileges granted to the Fishermen of the towne of Blacknie in the said Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary service, in respect of their trade to Island.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly king of England, by the name of Henry the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Prussia and Lettowe, against the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walsingham.

About the same time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie travailed into Prussia, where, with the helpe of the Marshall of the same Province, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquished the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captivitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of three, besides more then three hundred of the principall common souldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna, into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his savegard, was, by the valour of the sayd Earle especially and of his followers, surprised and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were slouthfull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, advanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common souldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of five weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconveniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia and of Lifland

would not stay any longer. There were converted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons unto the Christian faith. And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thousand captives.

The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

At the same time the Duke of Glocester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the yongest sonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, tooke his journey towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could restraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit having skarce passed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed up and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such distresse, that he despaired even of his owne life. At length, having not without danger of death, sailed along the coastes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of Tinmouth as unto a place of refuge knowen of olde unto him: where, after hee had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his journey toward his Mannour of Plashy, bringing great joy unto the whole kingdome, aswell in regard of his safetie as of his returne.

The verses of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who living in the yeere 1402. (as hee writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to travaile into Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to advance the Christian faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of armes.

The English Knights Prologue.

A knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he first began
to riden out, he loved Chevalrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie.

full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,
As well in Christendome as in Heathennesse,
and ever had honour for his worthinesse.
At Alisandre hee was, when it was wonne:
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
aboven all nations in Pruce,
In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,
no Christen man so oft of his degree:
In Granade at the siege had he bee
At Algezer: and ridden in Belmarye:
At Leyes was hee, and also at Satalye,
When they were wonne: and in the great see
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissen,
in listes thries, and aye slayne his foe:
This ilke worthie Knight had bin also,
sometime with the lord of Palathye
ayenst another Heathen in Turkie.

Written in the lustie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of lovers true have habitation,
The yeere of grace joyfull and jocond,
a thousand, foure hundred and second.

The original, proceedings and successe of the Northren domestical and forren trades and traffiques of this Isle of Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceased in the yeere of our Lord 70. under the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conquest: and from the conquest, untill this present time, gathered out of the most authenticall histories and records of this nation.

A testimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales of Cornelius Tacitus, prooving London to have bene a famous Mart Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Christ 70.

But Suetonius with wonderfull constancie passed through the middest of his enemies, unto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a Romane Colonie, yet was it most famous for multitude of Marchants and concourse of people.

A testimonie out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) prooving London to have bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

In the yeere of the incarnation of Christ 604. Augustine Archbishop of Britaine consecrated two Bishops, to wit Mellitus and Justus. He appoynted Mellitus to preach to the East Saxons, which are divided from Kent by the river of Thames, and border upon the Easterne sea, whose chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, seated upon the banke of the aforesayd river, which is also a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by sea and by land.

The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia concerning safe trade of the English Marchants in all the Emperours Dominion. This Offa died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

In the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were so alienated before, that, bearing hauty stomacks on both parts, even the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albinus is a sufficient testimony of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of us. For there is of late, by the instigation of the devill, some discord and variance sprung up betweene king Charles and king Offa: insomuch that sailing to and fro is forbidden unto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a peace, into those partes. And againe, after a fewe lines. Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, unto the reverend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth greeting. First we doe render unto almightie God most humble thankes for the salvation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which

we, to your great commendation, have found signified in our letters. As touching those pilgrimes, who for the love of God and their owne soules health, are desirous to resort unto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found amongst them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie customes at places convenient. It is our pleasure also and commandement, that your marchants shall have lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any injust oppression, let them make their supplication unto us, or unto our Judges, and we will see justice executed to the full.

An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes, containing among other things the advancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

It was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wisest of the people worship-worthy, every one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and under-Thein. And if a Churle thrived so, that hee had fully five hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Belhouse, and a Gate, a seate, and a severall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein so thrived, that he served the king, and on his message rid in his houshold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings journey five hides had, and in the kings seate his Lord served, and unrise with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his foreoth his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thrive so, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant so thrived, that he passed thrise over the wide seas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a scholar so prospered thorow learning that he degree had, and served Christ, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthie, as thereunto belonged: unlesse he forfaited so, that he the use of his degree use ne might.

A testimonie of certaine priviledges obtained for the English and Danish Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and John the Bishop of Rome by Canutus the King of England in his journey to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written unto the Cleargie of England.

You are to understand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope John and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the Princes of the nations from mount Garganus unto the West Ocean sea. Who all of them honourably interteined me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but especially the Emperour bestowed divers costly presents and rewards upon mee, both in vessels of golde and silver, and also in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of all my subjects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more favourable law & secure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted unto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many stops & impediments in their journey, and wearied by reason of injust exactions. And the Emperour condescended unto my request, and King Rodulphus also, who hath greatest authoritie over the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my subjects, as well Marchants, as others who travailed for devotions sake, should without all hinderance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe unto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in safetie.

The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis, which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.

Not farre from Rochester, about the distance of five and twenty miles, standeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with the traffique of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reason of

the scarcitie of corne, things necessary may there be provided and bought with lesse gaine unto the sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse unto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conveighed into the same Citie by the famous river of Thames: which river springing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the selfe same name. 70. miles beneath it.

The aforesaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, after this maner.

In the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow, with an Haven belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and foren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

The league betweene Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the first Booke and seventeenth Chapter of Radevicus Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.

There were present also the same time, the messengers of Henry King of England presenting divers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pavilion, most large in quantity, & most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of instruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was never any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in stuffe or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloved friend Frederick by the grace of God Emperour of the Romans most invincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wisheth health and concord of

sincere amitie. We doe render unto your highnes (most renowmed and peerelesse Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you have so graciously vouchsafed by your messengers to visite us, in your letters to salute us, with your gifts to prevent us, and (which wee doe more highly esteeme of then all the rest) to beginne a league of peace and friendship betweene us. We rejoyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selves to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilest your promise, whereby you put us in good comfort, did make us more cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We rejoyced (I say) & in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance unto your Majestie, giving you at this time to understand from the sincere & unfained affection of our heart, that whatsoever we shal know to tend unto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and whatsoever is under our jurisdiction we doe offer unto you, and commit the same unto your highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selves and our subjects, an indivisible unitie of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize: yet so, as that unto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in us. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put us in remembrance of your Majestie, even so in like maner sending unto your Highnesse the most rare things in our custodie, and which we thought should be most acceptable unto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee unmindefull of us. Have respect therefore not unto the gifts, but unto the affection of the giver, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered unto you.

Concerning the hand of S. James, about which you wrote unto us, we have sent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by king John in the first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the Tower, Anno. 1. Regis Joannis.

JOHN by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to understand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soever, shall have safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same favour in England, which is granted unto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. And therefore we give you in charge, that you cause this to be published, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be observed, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes used in your said Bailiwicke. Witnesse Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Essex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Citie of Winchester, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerset, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of Southamptonshire, the sherife of Hertford and Essex, the sherife of Cornewal and Devon.

The letters of King Henry the third unto Haquinus King of Norway concerning a treatie of peace and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c.

HENRY by the grace of God, &c. unto Haquinus by the same grace King of Norway, sendeth greeting. Wee render unto your highnesse unspeakeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discreete subject the Abbat of Lisa, you have signified unto us, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude betweene us both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter shalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment resort unto our land, and our people and Marchants may like-

wise have recourse unto your territories. Provided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send unto us your letters patents, and wee will send ours also unto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the same unto us. Wee have as yet deteined the foresaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdome so soone, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Lamhith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the same forme and to the same effect was there and then sent unto S. Duke of Norway.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.

Wee will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his souldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) shall touch, that, when the foresaid Cog shall chance to arrive at any of their Havens, they doe permit the said Cog safely to remaine in their said Havens so long as neede shall require, and without impediment also freely to depart thence, whensoever the governours of the sayd ship shall thinke it expedient. Witnesse the King.

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants of Colen in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the first, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King Edward the first.

The King unto Archbishops &c. greeting. Be it knowen unto you, that wee have quite claimed, and for us and our heires released our welbeloved the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of those two shillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London, and from all other customes and demaunds, which perteine unto us, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions: and that they

may safely resort unto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and sell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for us and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enjoy the liberties and free priviledges above-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforesaid. Witnesses, the reverend father Walter Bishop of Carlil, William de Ferariis, Gilbert Basset, Walter de Beau-champ, Hugh Disspenser, Walter Marescal, Geofrie Disspensser, Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukevill and others. Given by the hand of the reverend father Ralph Bishop of Chichester and our Chauncellour at Davintre, the eight day of November, in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

The charter of Lubek granted for seven yeeres, obtained in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.

Henry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs sendeth greeting. Know ye that at the instant request of our welbeloved and trusty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we have received under our protection and defence, and under our safe and secure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our kingdome. We have also granted unto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing shal be seized unto the use of our selves, or of any other without their owne consent, but that they may freely sell and exercise traffike therewith, according as they shall thinke expedient. And therefore we straightly command you, that neither your selves do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or molestation unto the said Burgers or unto their messengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither molest them your selves, nor yet suffer them by others to be molested, contrary to the aforesaid Charter. In testimonie whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents, during the space of seven yeeres next following.

Provided, that the sayd Burghers doe in the meane

time behave themselves well and faithfully towards our foresaid elected brother. Witnesse our selves at Westminster the eleventh day of March, in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunswig, and of Lubecke.

A charter for the Marchants of Almaine, who have an house at London commonly called the Guild hall of the Dutch, graunted in the 44. yeere of Henry the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of Edward the first.

At the instant request of the most gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our most deare brother, wee doe graunt unto the Marchants of Alemain (namely unto those that have an house in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and every of them, in all those liberties and free customes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they have used and enjoyed Neither will we inforce them beyond these liberties and free customes, nor in any wise permit them to be inforced. In witnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters to be made patents.

A mandate of king Edward the first concerning outlandish marchants.

We will and command that outlandish marchants doe sel their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty dayes of their arrivall.

The great Charter granted unto forreine marchants by king Edward the first, in the 31 yeare of his reigne commonly called Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini 1303.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Justices, Vicounts, governours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people sendeth greeting. Wee have speciall care for the good estate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countreis following: to wit of Almaine, France,

Spaine, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardie, Florence, Provence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholosa, Caturlune, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreis and places by what name soever they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the sayd marchants may live in quiet and full securitie under our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts desires may bee more readily inclined to our service and the service of our kingdome, wee favourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller asring of their estate, have thought good to graunt to the sayd marchants for us and our heires for ever these priviledges under written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

First, that all marchants of the sayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where else into our dominion with their marchandises whatsoever safely and securely under our defence and protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the sayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great as well with the naturall subjects and inhabitantes of our aforesayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, straungers, or private persons. Yet so, that marchandises which are commonly called mercerie wares, and spices, may be sold by the small, as heretofore hath bin accustomed. And that all the aforesaid marchants may cary or cause to be caried whither they will, aswell within our realme or dominion, as out of the same; saving unto the countreis of the manifest and knowne enemies of our kingdome, those marchandises which they shall bring into our foresayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwise purchase in our sayd realme and dominion, paying such customes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it shall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our sayd realme and dominion without our speciall favour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

Item that the aforesayd marchants may at their pleasure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforesaid, with the good liking of those which are owners of their lodgings.

Item that every bargaine made by the said marchants with any maner of persons, of what places soever they be, for any kind of marchandise whatsoever, shalbe firme

& stable, so that none of both the marchants shall shrinke or give backe from that bargaine, after that the earnest penie be once given and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peradventure any strife arise about the same bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof shall be made according to the uses and customes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the said bargaine was made and contracted.

Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for ever for us and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selves, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present payment of such a price as the marchants would have sold those marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselves well contented: and that no price or valuation shalbe set upon their wares, marchandises, & goods by us or by any officer of ours.

Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie justice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants to the aforesayd marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singuler causes, which may be determined by the same law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesayd, whereby the sayd marchants or any of them have sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recover his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to us ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this punishment in favour of the aforesayd marchants in regard of the hastening of their justice.

Item, that in al maner of pleas, saving in case where punishment of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or sueth another, of what condition soever hee bee which is sued, whether stranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where sufficient numbers of marchants of the foresayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Jurie be of the sayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the suite shall

fall out to bee: and if sufficient number of marchants of the sayd countries cannot bee found, those which shall be found fit in that place shall be put upon the jurie, and the rest shall be chosen of good and fit men of the places where such suit shall chance to be.

Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in every market towne and fayre of our realme aforesayd and elsewhere within our dominion our weight shall bee set in some certaine place; and that before the weighing the balance shall bee seene emptie in the presence of the buyer and of the seller, and that the skales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath set the balances even, let him straightway remoove his hands, so that the balance way remayne even: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and one measure, and that they be marked with the marke of our standard. And that every man may have a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and under, where the same hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by us and our predecessors, or contrary to the custome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene observed.

Item we will and we grant that some certaine faythfull and discreete man resident in London be appointed to doe Justice to the aforesayd marchants, before whome they may have their sutes decided and many speedilie recover their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day give them speedy justice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant unto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmely bee observed for ever for us and our heires, that the aforesayd marchants shal not loose the aforesayd liberties nor any of them, for any liberty whatsoever, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant. And for the obtayning of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arresting of their goods, the aforesayd marchants all and every of them for themselves and all other of their parties with one accorde and one consent have granted unto us, that of every tunne of wine, which they shall bring or

cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall bee bound to pay freight unto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to bee payd unto us, they will pay unto us and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortie dayes after the sayd wines shall bee brought on land out of the shippes. Item for every sacke of wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence above the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payd heretofore: And for a last of hides to bee caryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke above that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And likewise for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee transported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, above that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings upon every scarlate and every cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for every cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelve pence upon every cloth dyed without graine. Item twelve pence upon everie quintall of copper.

And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other marchandises, as of Haver de pois, and other fine wares, as sarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and silke, and divers other marchandises, and to sell horses and other beastes, corne, and sundrie other things and marchandises, which cannot easily bee reduced unto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants have granted to give unto us, and to our heires of every pound of silver of the estemation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what name soever they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and dominion, and shall be there unladen and solde. And likewise three pence upon every pound of silver in the carying out of any such goods and marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd above the customes beforetime payd unto us or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, whereof three pence of every pound of silver, as is afore-

sayd, is to be payd, credite shalbe given unto them upon the letters which they are able to shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they have no letters in this behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the foresayd marchants if they bee present, or in their absence to the othes of their servants.

Moreover, it shall be lawfull for such as be of the company of the aforesayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforesayd, to sell woolles to other of their company, and likewise to buy of them without paying of custome. Yet so, that the said wools come not to such hands, that wee be defrauded of the custome due unto us. And furthermore it is to be understood, that after that the aforesaid marchants have once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the custome above granted unto us in forme aforesayd for their marchandises, & have their warrant therof, whether these marchandises remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wise shalbe carried forth of our realme and dominion aforesayd, without our favour & licence as is aforesayd) we wil and we grant for us and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd upon the persons of the aforesayd marchants, upon their marchandises or goods in any case, contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witnesses of these presents are these, Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter bishop of Coventrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Essex, high Constable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenser, Walter Beauchampe Seneschall of our house, Robert of Bures, and others. Given by our owne hand at Windesore the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

The letters of Edward the second unto Haquinus king of Norway, concerning the English marchants arrested in Norway, and their goods to be freed from arrest.

To the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his most deare friend, Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere love. We marvell not a little, and

are much disquieted in our cogitations, considering the greevances and oppressions, which (as wee have beene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this present, more then in times past, without any reasonable cause inflicted upon our subjects, which doe usually resort unto your kingdome for traffiques sake. For of late one William the sonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the sonne of Alan of the same towne, and Guido the sonne of Mathew, and their associates our marchants, in complayning wise declared unto us: that having sent certaine of their factors and servants, with three shippes into your dominions, there to exercise traffique, and the sayd ships being laden in the haven of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and also the said mariners, men, and servants of the foresayd shippes, being licenced by vertue of the safe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome unto the parts of England with their ships and goods aforesayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your haven by reason of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes upon occasion of the slaughter of a knight being himselfe also of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and Pirates upon the sea, whilest the sayd shippes remained in the haven aforesayd, did at your commandement (as they say) arrest, and for a long season also deteined under that arrest, the foresaid ships, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely untill such time, as the men and mariners aforesaide (beeing driven perforce, and constrained thereunto) should lay in sufficient securitie for the payment of fortie pounds sterling, upon a certain day appointed, unto your use, for every of the foresaide ships: and also untill they had moreover delivered three pledges, for the bringing of the saide ships and men backe againe into the foresaid haven, before the feast of the nativitie of S. John the Baptist next ensuing, then and there to stand unto your favour and curtesie, as touching the said persons, and those ships of theirs: which dealing, the parties themselves take very grievously, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a strange and unwonted course. And because it is most undoubtedly contrary to all reason, equitie, justice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders should in any sort be punished in such persons,

or in their goods, as neither have bene accessory nor partakers in the crime, nor have had any society with the saide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and request your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of justice, you would of your love and friendship, command the foresaid pledges to be set at libertie, and the said securitie utterly to bee released and acquited. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foresaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) slewe your Knight aforesaide, shall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we wil cause justice and judgement to bee executed upon them, according to the Lawe and custome of our sayde Realme. For we cannot in these times conveniently and well indure, that the ships aforesaide, or any other ships of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readinesse for our service) should without speciall licence, depart out of our saide kingdome, unto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you shall think good at this our request to performe in the premisses, may it please you by the bearer of these presents to returne an answere unto us. Geven at Windsore the 16. of April.

Another Letter of Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

To the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere love. Wee received the complaint of our welbeloved Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their servants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer upon the feast of S. Michael last past, without any just or reasonable occasion, caused the goods and merchandise of the foresaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their said servants had under their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also injuriously deteineth the same under the same arrest, to the great damage and impoverishing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants

so far foorth as we can, Justice requiring no lesse in this behalfe, we doe right earnestly request you, that having hearde the complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Atturneyes, you woulde of your love and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of Justice, about the restitution of their goods and marchandise aforesaide: least that for want of the exhibiting of Justice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to provide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answere unto us, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Given as above.

A third letter of King Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

To the mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere love. We sent of late unto your royall majestie our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adjoyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we understand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremitie & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to bee released. Howbeit, you reteining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we have diligently heard, and throughly understood, have, amongst other matters, returned this answere unto us: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of injuries, violences and arrests, whereby they have lately (as themselves avouch) contrary to justice bene aggrieved and oppressed in our dominions: adding moreover in your sayde letters, that certaine sonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herrings, cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subjects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and above

measure grieved and troubled, especially sithence it was never any part of our intent, that any injuries, violences, or arrests should unjustly be inflicted upon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet have any intelligence, that any such hard measure hath bene offered unto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our subjects: giving you for a certaintie to understand, that if upon lawfull inquisition we shalbe advertised of any such grievances, which have bene offered unto your subjects within our realme, we will cause speedie justice to be administred, and sufficient recompence, and due satisfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreover, if the saide malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining unto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our saide kingdome or dominion, we will command justice and judgement to be executed upon them, according to the lawes and customes of our realme. And forasmuch as our desire is, that mutuall concord and amitie should be mainteined and cherished between your and our subjects on both parts: so that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed: Whereas also we evidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subjects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoever occasioned, and sprung up betweene your and our subjects) lovingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selves, and our subjects, so much as in us and them lieth, for his sake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquilitie of both our Realmes (as justice and reason shall move us) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your love and friendship, having regard of us, and consideration of justice, you would commaund that our foresaide marchants, who as yet remaine alive, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut up in close prison, be delivered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which have bene taken from them, to bee, according

unto justice, restored to them again. And that the deliverie of our foresaide marchants and goods, may be the more easily yeelded unto, may it please you with diligent observation to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, upon occasion of the greivances offered unto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide unto the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: even as in a certain Indenture made betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and some other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe conteined. Moreover, if any of your subjects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subjects, or of any injury done unto them, we will cause the petitions of those your subjects to be admitted, and also full and speedie justice to be administred, upon any such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subjects shal thinke themselves right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the trueth to be made, of all excesses and grievances howsoever offered unto your subjects within our dominions. May it please you therfore, by the bearer of these presents, to returne an answere unto us, what you are determined to doe in the premisses. Given at Westminster, the third day of April.

An agreement made by the Ambassadors of England and Prussia, confirmed by king Richard the second.

Richard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lorde of Ireland, To all, unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. We have seene and considered the composition, ordination, concord, and treatie, betweene our welbeloved clearke, master Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our cities of London & York, our messengers and ambassadors on the one part: and the honourable and religious personages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander, Sifridus Walpode de Bassenheim, chiefe hospitalary commander in Elburg, and Ulricus Hachenberg Treasurer, the messengers and ambassadors of the right reverend and religious lord, lord Conradus

Zolner de Rothenstein, master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of Saint Mary at Jerusalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed upon in these words. In the name of the supreame and indivisible Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, Amen. Forasmuch as the author of peace will have peacemakers to be the sons of blessednes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Christians: therefore for the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowen unto all men who shall see or heare the tenour of these presents: that there being matter of dissension and discord bred betweene the most renowmed prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his subjects on the one part: and the right reverend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinstein, Master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospitall of S. Marie at Jerusalem, and his land of Prussia, and his subjects also, on the other part: the foresaid lord and generall master, upon mature counsell and deliberation had, sent his honourable ambassadours towards England unto the forenamed most soveraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint unto him of violence and injuries offered (as it is sayd) by the English unto the Prussians: in consideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arrested in the land of Prussia. Whose complaint the foresayd most gracious prince did courteously and friendly admit, receive, and accept, and after many speeches uttered in this treaty, lovingly dismissed them unto their owne countrey againe, promising by his letters unto the foresayd reverend Master generall, that hee would dispatch his ambassadours unto the land of Prussia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he sent the hono: and reverend personages Master Nicholas Stocket licentiate of both lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with sufficient authority and full commandement, to handle, discusse, and finally to determine the foresaid busines, and with letters of credence unto the right reverend lord and master generall aforesayd. Which ambassadours, together with John Bevis of London their informer, and the letters aforesaid, and their ambassage, the said right reverend lord and Master generall, at his castle of Marienburgh, the 28.

of July, in the yeare aforesaid, reverently and honourably received and enterteined: and in his minde esteemed them worthy to treate and decide the causes aforesayd: and so unto the sayd ambassadours he joyned in commission on his behalfe, three of his owne counsellers, namely the honourable and religious personages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Bassenheim chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treasurer, being all of the order aforesaid. Which ambassadors so entreating about the premisses, and sundry conferences and consultations having passed between them, friendly and with one consent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to say:

First, that all arrestments, reprisals, and impignorations of whatsoever goods and marchandises in England and Prussia, made before the date of these presents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and released, without all fraud and dissimulation: insomuch that the damages, charges and expenses occasioned on both parts by reason of the foresayd goods arrested, are in no case hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatsoever propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether frustrate and voide, and all actions which may or shall be commenced by occasion of the sayd goods arrested, are to be extinct and of none effect.

Moreover, it is secondly concluded and agreed, that all and singuler Prussians pretending themselves to be injuried by the English at the Porte of Swen, or elsewhere, howsoever, and whensoever, before the date of these presents, having received the letters of the foresaide right reverende lord and Master generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repayre towards England, unto the sayd hon: embassadours, who are to assist them, and to propound and exhibite their complaintes, unto the forenamed lord and king. The most gracious prince is bounde to doe his indevor, that the parties damnified may have restitution of their goods made unto them, or at least complete justice and judgement without delay. Also in like maner all English men affirming themselves to have bene endamaged by Prussians, wheresoever, howsoever, and whensoever, are to have recourse unto the often forenamed right reverend lorde the Master

generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad, propounding their complaints and causes unto him. Who likewise is bound to doe his indevour that the sayd losses and damages may be restored, or at the least that speedie judgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caveat being premised in each clause, that it may and shall be freely granted and permitted unto every man that will civilly make his suite and complaint, to doe it either by himselfe, or by his procurator or procurators.

Also thirdly it is agreed, that whosoever of Prussia is determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinseman hath beene slaine, wounded, or maimed, by English men, the same partie is to repayre unto the citie of London in England, and unto the sayd ambassadors, bringing with him the letters of the sayd right reverend lord the master generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambassadors are to have free and full authority, according to the complaints of the men of Prussia, and the answers of the English men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation or honest recompence betweene such parties: which reconciliation the sayd parties reconciled are bound undoubtedly & without delay to observe. But if there be any English man found, who shall rashly contradict or contemne the composition of the foresayd ambassadors: then the sayd ambassadours are to bring the forenamed Prussian plaintifes before the presence of the kings Majestie: and also to make supplication on the behalfe of such plaintifes, that complete justice and judgment may without delayes bee administred, according as those suites are commenced. Moreover whatsoever English man, against whom anie one of Prussia would enter his action, shall absent himselfe at the terme, the sayd ambassadours are to summon and ascite the foresayd English man to appeare at the terme next insuing, that the plaintifes of Prussia may in no wise seeme to depart or to returne home, without judgement or the assistance of lawe. Nowe if the sayd English man being summoned shall be found stubborne or disobedient, the forenamed ambassadours are to make their appeale and supplication in manner aforesayd. And in like sorte in all respects shall the English plaintifes be dealt withall in Prussia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the

sayd citie and of the citie of Elburg shal take unto themselves two other head boroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commissioners are to have in al respects, the very like authority of deciding, discussing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by English men against any Prussian or Prussians, by friendly reconciliation, or honest recompense, if it be possible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Prussian shall not yeeld obedience unto any such order or composition, but shalbe found to contradict and to contemne the same: from thenceforth the said foure deputies and headboroughs are to make their appeale and supplication unto the Master generall of the land aforesayd, that unto the sayd English plaintifes speedy judgement and complete justice may be administred. But if it shall so fall out that any of the principall offenders shall decease, or already are deceased in either of the sayd countries, and then it shall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to prosecute his right against the goods or heires of the party deceased. Also, for the executing of the premisses the termes under written are appointed: namely the first, from the Sunday whereupon Quasi modo geniti is to be sung next ensuing, untill the seventh day following: The second upon the feast of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for seven dayes following: The third upon the eight day after Saint John Baptist next to come, & for seven daies following: The fourth, last, and peremptory terme shall be upon the feast of S. Michael next to come, and upon seven dayes next following. And from thenceforth all causes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if peradventure any one of the foresayd ambassadours, shall in the meane season dye, then the other two shall have authoritie to chuse a third unto them. And if after the date of these presents any cause great or small doth arise or spring foorth, it must bee decided in England and in Prussia, as it hath beene accustomed in times past and from ancient times.

Also, it is farther concluded and agreed upon, that all lawfull marchants of England whosoever shall have free licence and authority, with all kindes of shippes, goods, and marchandises, to resorte unto every port of

the land of Prussia, and also to transport all such goods and marchandises up farther unto any other place in the sayde land of Prussia, and there with all kindes of persons freely to bargaine and make sale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accustomed. Which priviledge is granted in all things and by all circumstances unto the Prussians in England. And if after the date of these presents, betweene the sayd kingdome of England, and land of Prussia any dissension or discorde (which God forefend) should arise: then the foresayd sovereigne prince and king of England, and the sayd right reverend lord the Master generall are mutually by their letters and messengers to give certificate and intimation one unto another, concerning the matter and cause of such dissension and discord: with intimation, on the behalfe of the foresaid sovereigne prince & king of England, shall be delivered in the forenamed castle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the sayd right reverend lord the Master generall, such intimation shall be given in the citie of London aforesayd, unto the Maior of the said city: that then such a denuntiation or intimation being made, the marchants of England and the subjects of the land of Prussia may, within the space of one yeere next following, freely and safely returne home with al their goods & marchandises: if at the least, in the mean while, some composition, & friendly league betweene the two foresayd countreis be not in some sorte concluded. And that all the premisses may more firmely and faithfully be put in due practise and execution on both partes, for the strong and inviolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and also for the full confirmation and strengthening of all the sayde premisses, the three foresayd honourable and religious personages being by the said right reverend lord the Master general appointed as commissioners to deale in the above written ordination and composition, have caused their seales unto these presents to be put: and the sayd ordination also, and letter in the same tenour word for word, and in all points even as it is inserted into these presents, they have mutually received from the abovenamed three ambassadours of the right soveraigne king of England under their seales. Given at the castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforesayd, upon the twentieth day of the moneth of August. And we therefore doe accept, approve, ratifie,

and by the tenour of these presents doe confirm, the composition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforesayd. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selves a Westminster the 22. of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counsell.
Lincolne.

A briefe relation of William Esturmy, and John Kington concerning their ambassages into Prussia, and the Hans-townes.

Inprimis, that in the moneth of July, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambassadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Jungingen, being then Master general of Prussia, with his letters directed unto our foresayd sovereigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompense for certaine injuries unjustly offered by English men unto the subjects of the sayd Master generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted unto the summe of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord abovewritten, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lord the king, between the reverend father in God, Henrie then bishop of Lincolne lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treasurer of England, on the one party and the sayd ambassadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongst other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our soveraigne lord the king should freely be permitted, untill the feast of Easter then next after ensuing to remaine in the land of Prussia, and from thence with their goods & marchandises to returne unto their own home: and also, that the subjects of the sayd Master generall in the kingdome of England should have licence and liberty to doe the like. Provided alwayes, that after the time above limitted, neither the English marchants in the land of Prussia, nor the Prussian marchants in the realme of England should use any traffique of marchandise at all, unlesse in the meane space it were otherwise agreed and concluded by the sayd king and the sayd Master general.

Item, immediately after our sayd soveraigne lord the king sent his letters by John Browne marchant of Lin unto the foresayd Master generall, for to have mutuall conversation and intercourse of dealing to continue some certain space, betweene the marchants of England and of Prussia: promising in the same letters, that he would in the meane season send unto the foresayd Master his ambassadors to intreat about the pretended injuries aforesaid: which letters the foresayd Master, for divers causes, refused to yeelde unto, as in his letters sent unto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the moneth of July, in the yeare of our lord 1404. more plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Master aforesaid, which are next above mentioned, our sayd king, according to his promise, sent William Esturmy knight, M. John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Coventrie, very slightly informed, as his ambassadours into Prussia.

Item, before the arrivall of the sayd ambassadours in Prussia, all intercourse of traffique betweene the English and the Prussians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Prussia was altogether restrained and prohibited: and in the same land it was ordayned and put in practise, that in whatsoever porte of the land of Prussia any English marchant had arrived with his goods, he was not permitted to conveigh the sayd goods, out of that porte, unto any other place of the land of Prussia, either by water, or by lande, under the payne of the forfeiting of the same: but was enjoyned to sell them in the very same porte, unto the Prussians onely and to none other, to the great prejudice of our English marchants.

Item, that after the arrivall of the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, it was ordayned, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405, all English marchants whatsoever should have free liberty to arrive with all kindes of their marchandise in whatsoever port of the land of Prussia, and to make sale of them in the said land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accustomed. Also sundry other commodious priviledges unto the realme of England were then ordayned and established: as in

the indentures made for this purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, the said English ambassadours being arrived in the land of Prussia, demanded of the said Master generall, a reformation and amends, for the damages and injuries offered by the Prussians unto the liege people of our sovereigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which losses amounted unto the summe of 4535. nobles.

Item, the said Master generall, besides the articles exhibited unto our soveraigne lord the king (as it is above mentioned) delivered unto the sayd ambassadours divers other articles of certaine injuries offered (as he sayth) unjustly by English men, unto his subjects, which amounted unto the summe of 5100. nobles.

Item, it was afterward concluded, that upon the first of May next then insuing, namely in the yeere of our Lord 1406. or within the space of one yeare immediatly following there should bee made a convenient, just, and reasonable satisfaction, for all molestations unjustly offered on both partes, as well on the behalfe of our soveraigne lord the king, as of the foresayd Master general. Which satisfaction not being performed, the Prussians with their goods & merchandises, within three moneths after the end of the sayd yere next following, were without molestation or impediment, enjoined to depart out of the realme of England with their ships and goods, and the English men likewise, out of the territories and dominions of the said Master general, & both of them, without any further admonition, to abstaine & separate themselves, from both the countreis aforesayd. For the performance of which premisses, the ambassadors on both parts being sufficiently instructed, were appointed to meete the first day of May, at the towne of Dordract in Holland.

Item, that the sayd William Esturmy and John Kington in their returne homewards from Prussia towards England passed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in such sorte with the Burgomasters of them, that there were sent messengers and agents, in the behalfe of the common society of the Hans marchants, unto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambassadors of England, about the redressing of injuries attempted on both parts: where divers agreements were set downe

betweene the sayd ambassadors, and messengers, as in the indentures made for the same purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, upon the first of May, was by the letters of the foresayd ambassadors, proroged unto the first of August then next ensuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters unto the first day of March next following : and there was another day of prorogation also.

Item, that after the prorogations aforesayd, the ambassadors of England, and the messengers & commissioners of Prussia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of August, in the yere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty between them concerning the summe 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the sayd Master generall for amends and recompense in consideration of wrongs offered unto himselfe and unto his subjects of Prussia, as is aforesayd. Also the sayd Master and his Prussians, besides the summe not yet declared in the articles, which is very small, are to rest contented and satisfied with the summe of 8957. nobles, in lieu of al the damages aforesaid : no times of paiment being then assigned or limited, but afterward to be reasonably limited and assigned, by our sayd soveraigne lord the king. Insomuch, that our said soveraigne lord the king is to write his ful intention & determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be delivered the 16. day of March, unto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans residing at Bruges. Otherwise, that from thenceforth all league of friendship shall bee dissolved betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia.

Also it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the summe next before written to be disbursed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful testimonies it may sufficiently and effectually be prooved, concerning the chiefe articles abovewritten, or any part of them, that satisfaction was made unto any of those parties, to whom it was due : or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the behalfe of Prussia, in the sayd articles, did or doe pertayne unto others, or that any other just, true, or reasonable cause may lawfully be proved & alledged, why the foresaid sums or any of them ought not to be

payed: that then in the summes contained in the articles abovementioned, so much only must be cut off, or stopped, as shalbe found, either to have bene payd already, or to appertaine unto others, or by any true, just, and reasonable cause alleaged, not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the summe due unto the Prussians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and justice, to be compelled to make satisfaction.

Also, at the day and place above mentioned it was appointed and agreed upon, that our lord the king and his liege subjects, for the said 4535. nobles demanded of the English in consideration of recompense to be made for injuries offered unto the Prussians, are to discharge & pay the summe of 764. nobles, which are not as yet disbursed: but they have reserved a petition to them, unto whom the sayd summe is due, or if they please, there shalbe made satisfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the last assembly of the sayd ambassadors of England and messengers of Prussia, holden at Hage, made as is aforesayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certaine articles of injuries against the Prussians. The value of which losses amounted unto the summe of 1825. nobles and three shillings.

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Prussians the summe of 1355. nobles, eight shillings and sixe pence.

Item, forasmuch as divers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and also at the last convention holden at Hage, were so obscure, that in regard of their obscurity, there could no resolute answere bee made unto them: and other of the sayd articles exhibited, for want of sufficient proofes, could not clearely be determined upon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obscure articles given up by any of the foresayd parties whatsoever, ought before the end of Easter then next ensuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles evidently exhibited, but not sufficiently proved, to be proved, under paine of perpetuall exclusion. Which being done accordingly, complete justice shall be administred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleventh article, for the behalfe of the Prussians, first exhibited, which conteined losses amounting unto the summe of 2445. nobles: as touching the first article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Prussia, conteining losses which amounted to the summe of 900. nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof shall be made in the audience of the king and of the Master generall: so that they shall set downe, ordaine, and determine such an ende and conclusion of those matters, as shall seeme most expedient unto them.

Compositions and ordinances concluded between the messengers of Frater Conradus de Jungingen master generall of Prussia: and the chancelor and treasurer of the realme of England 1403.

In the yere of our Lord 1403, upon the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, the right hono: Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treasurer of England, & the ambassadors of Prussia, John Godek of Dantzik, & Henry Monek of Elbing, masters of the same cities have at Westminster treated in maner of composition about the articles underwritten: between the most sovereigne lord the king of England, and the right reverend & honorable Conradus de Jungingen Master general of Prussia, as concerning the injuries offered unto the people of Prussia and Livonia upon the sea by the English.

First, that all ships with their appurtenances, & the commodities of the mariners, according unto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the English, which are actually undivided & whole, are incontinently & with al speed to bee restored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the said defect is to be accounted, & with other losses of goods to be restored, at the terme of the restitution to be made and delivered.

Item, that all ships, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accusation) which are not now immediately restored, are to be restored and payd in the land of Prussia, between this and the terme appointed, with full execution and complement of justice.

Item, concerning the persons throwen over boord or slaine in the sea: it shall remayne to bee determined at

the will and pleasure of the most mighty prince the king of England, and of the right reverend the Master of Prussia.

Item, betwene this and the terme appointed fór the restoring of the goods taken away, & untill there be due payment & restitution of the said goods performed, the marchants of England and of Prussia are in no wise to exercise any traffique of marchandise at all in the foresaid lands.

Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403. and in the fift yere of the reigne of the most mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c. betweene the reverend father Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treasurer of England, both of them counsellers unto the sayd soveraigne king on the one party, and the right worshipfull John Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, sent as messengers by the right reverend and religious personage, Frater Conradus de Jungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the request and instancie of the sayd messengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed upon, that all the liege people and subjects of the sayd soveraigne lord and king shall have free licence and liberty untill the feast of Easter next ensuing, safely to travel unto the land of Prussia aforesayd, there to remaine, and thence, with their ships, marchandises, & other their goods whatsoever, to returne unto their owne home: which on the other side, all the subjects of the sayd Master general may, within the terme prefixed, likewise doe, in the foresaid realme of England. Provided alwaies, that after the time above limited, neither the sayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Prussia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exercise any traffique at al: unles it be otherwise ordained by some composition, betweene the foresaid king of England, & the said Master general in the meane time concluded. In witnesse wherof, one part of this present Indenture is to remaine in the custodie of the foresaid messengers. Given in the Chapter-house of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere above written.

The letters of the chancelor and treasurer of England, unto Frater Conradus de Jungingen, master generall of Prussia 1403.

RIGHT reverend and mighty lord, your honorable messengers John Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the presence of our most sovereigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our said lord with a chearefull and favourable countenance, they presented certaine letters on your behalfe unto the kings Majestie, with that reverence which beseemed them: expounding unto his highnes, sundry piracies & molestations offered of late upon the sea, by his liege people & subjects unto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) have bene maintained and continued on both parts. In consideration of which piracies and molestations, your messengers demanded full restitution and recompense to be made, either unto the damnified parties, or unto their procurators. We therefore at that time, especially being in the presence of our soveraigne (who with his puissant army tooke his progresse towards the remote part of Wales being subject unto his dominion, to see justice executed upon his people of those parts, who very rashly have presumed to rebell against him their sovereigne, contrary to their allegeance) right well perceived that it was his highnesse intention, that every one should have due justice faithfully administred unto him, especially your subjects, and that with all favour, whom he hath alwayes in times past right graciously intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege subjects and native countrey men, whome also hee purposeth hereafter friendly to protect: insomuch that betweene him and his subjects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increase. And therefore we offered unto your foresayd messengers, after they had particularly declared unto us such piracies and wrongs, to sende the kings letters unto them of whom complaint was made, firmely injoyning them, under grievous penalties, that without delay they restore or cause to bee restored unto the parties damnified, or unto their procuratours, all ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently stolne from your subjects.

And that your said messengers may partly attaine their desire, we have commaunded certaine ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, found in certaine havens, to be delivered unto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps perished or wanting by infortunate dissipation or destruction, and for the which the said messengers of yours demand satisfaction to be made unto them within a certain time by us limited: may it please your honor to understand, that in the absence of our sayd sovereigne lord the king, being as yet farre distant from us, wee can in no wise limit or set downe any such terme of time. Notwithstanding, at the prosperous returne of our soveraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of whose answere so soone as we be certified, we purpose to signifie his intention unto you by our letters. Sithens also (right reverend and mighty lord) your sayd messengers are contented, for the present, to accept of our offer aforesayde, as indeede by all reason they ought thereat to rest content, especially whereas by this meanes they shall the more speedily attaine unto the effect of their purposes (to the shorte and wished execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endevour, to the utmost of our ability) may it be your will and pleasure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and subjects are courteously intreated: even so the marchants and liege people of our soveraigne lord the king and of his kingdomes peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other just occasion, may there in like manner friendly bee used, and with your marchants and subjects suffered to communicate, and to have intercourse of traffique, injoying the commodities of the ancient league. By this also the fervent zeale and affection which you beare unto the royall crowne of England shall undoubtedly appeare: albeit betweene the famous houses of England and of Prussia, the bandes of unfained love and friendship have bin successively confirmed and kept inviolable in times past. And thus (right reverend and mighty lord) wishing unto you increase of honour and prosperity, wee take our leaves. Written at London the fift of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403.

By the chancelor, the treasurer, and other lords of the hono: counsell of the king of England and France, being personally present at London.

The letters of king Henry the 4. unto Conradus de Jungingen the master general of Prussia, for mutual conversation and intercourse of traffique to continue between the marchants of England and of Prussia, for a certaine terme of time.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion, Frater Conradus de Jungingen Master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare and welbeloved friend, greeting, and continuall increase of our auncient and sincere amity. By the grievous complaynts of our liege subjects concerning traffique, as it were circularwise too & fro both our dominions, we have often bene advertised that in regard of divers injuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandise were woont peaceably to use mutual conversation together, whereupon very many commodities are knowen to have proceeded) have, by occasion of pirates, roving up and downe the sea, sometimes heretofore sustayned: both the sayd marchants of our & of your dominions do abstaine themselves from their wonted mutual conversation & traffique, as they have likewise carefully abstained at sometimes heretofore, and especially from that time, wherein at the instant request of your messengers, being of late before our presence, the free accesse of our marchants unto your territories and dominions, & of your marchants unto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Sithens therefore (our most deare friend) such injuries (if any) as have bene attempted against your subjects, were never committed by our will and consent, as we thinke that your selfe on the other side have done the like: sithens also, so much as in us lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full justice with favour unto any of your people being desirous to make complaint, so that accordingly justice may equally be done unto our marchants by you & your subjects, which marchants have in like sort bene injuried, wishing with all our heart, that the ancient friendship & love, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may persevere in time to come, and that sweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Christians, may according to the good pleasure of the author of peace, be nourished

& mayntained: we do most heartily require the sayd friendship, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf consent & ordain (even as, if you shall so do, we for our part wil consent likewise) that from this present until the feast of Easter next insuing (al molestations & injuries which may be offred ceasing on both parts) our subjects by your territories & dominions, & your subjects by our realms, may peaceably & securely travel, & that according to their wonted maner, they may friendly converse & exercise mutual traffick together: because we are determined to send unto you & your counsel in the mean time some of our ambassadors, friendly to intreat about the foresaid pretended injuries, so far forth as they shal concerne our subjects. At whose arival we stand in good hope that by the due administration of justice on both parts, such order (by Gods assistance) shalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquillity may be established between us in times to come. Also our desire is in particular, that our marchants & liege subjects may have more free passage granted them unto the parts of Sconia, for the providing of herrings and of other fishes there, that they may there remayne, and from thence also may more securely returne unto their owne home: and we beseech you in consideration of our owne selves, that you would have our marchants and liege subjects especially recommended unto you, safely protecting them (if need shall require) under the shadow of your defence: even as you would have us to deale in the like case with your own subjects. Moreover, whatsoever you shall thinke good to put in practise in this behalfe, may it please you of your friendship, by our faythfull subject John Browne the bearer hereof to give us to understand. In the sonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall prosperity and felicity according to your owne hearts desire. Given under our privie seale, at our palace of Westminster, the fift day of June, and in the fift yere of our reigne.

Postscriptum.

Right reverend and our most deare friend: albeit our welbeloved Arnold de Dassele the procurator of your foresaid messengers, being desirous at this time to make his final returne unto your parts, by reason of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England,

cannot as yet obtaine his wished expedition: notwithstanding you of your sincere affection ought not to marvel or any whit to be grieved thereat: because troubles of wars arising, which in some sort concerned our selves, and especially in regard of the continuall assaults of the French men & Britons against us and our kingdome, for the defence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege subjects (especially they, of whom your subjects damnified have made their complaints) have armed themselves to combate upon the sea: we could not grant unto the foresayd Arnold such and so speedy an expedition, as he earnestly desired to have. Unto the which Arnold your procurator we have offered in as short time as may be, to administer complete justice with favour, to ye end that for this cause he might dispose himselfe to remaine in our realme of England: & yet notwithstanding wee would do the very same even in the absence of the sayd procurator. Given as above.

An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth and Conradus de Jungingen Master generall of the land of Prussia.

This Indenture made between Sir William Esturmy knight, John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambassadors, commissioners, & messengers of the most mighty prince and lord, our sovereigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lorde of Ireland, for the repayring, reformation, and amends of whatsoever damages, grievances, excesses, violences, and injuries in any sort unjustly attempted, done, or offered, by our sayd soveraigne lord the king and his liege people and subjects, unto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Jungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Jerusalem, or his subjects: and for the requiring, demanding, and receiving of such like reparations, reformations & amends, by the foresayd lord the Master generall, for the behalfe of himselfe or any of his subjects whatsoever, from & in the name of our soveraign lord the king & his subjects, unto the sayd Master general, into his land of Prussia, by our sovereigne lord the king, & appointed as ambassadors on the one party: And betweene the hono: Lords and religious personages Conradus de Lichtenstein great

commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary & commander in Elbing, & Arnold de Hacken treasurer, the procurators & commissioners of the great & mighty lord the Master general, being in like & equal sort and in all respects, as the ambassadours of England are, authorized on the contrary side by the authoritie and power of the sayd Master general on the other part, witnesseth: That divers treaties & conferences being holden between the said ambassadors, messengers, & procurators or commissioners of & concerning the reparations, reformations & amends of certaine damages, grievances, excesses, violences & injuries offered and attempted aswel by the Prussians against the English as by the English against the Prussians, and of other actes unjustly committed on both parts: in conclusion, after the sayd treatise, the foresayd ambassadours, procurators and commissioners by vertue of the authority committed unto them appoynted, and with one consent agreed unto the articles under written.

Inprimis, that for the consideration of mutuall love and woonted friendship, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and also that the articles underwritten may more prosperously be brought unto a wished effect, between our said soveraign lord the king & his liege people & subjects, & the subjects, people, & inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foresayd lord the Master generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatsoever, shall have free licence and libertie to arrive with their shippes, goods and marchandises whatsoever, at any Porte of the land of Prussia, and also the sayd goods and marchandises farther unto any place of the sayd land of Prussia to transport, and there with any person or persons freely to contract and bargaine, even as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accustomed. Which liberty in all respects is granted unto the Prussians in England.

Item it is farther agreed betweene the sayd ambassadours, procurators, and commissioners, that whereas of late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the sayd Master general by his discreet subjects John Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambassadors & messengers, for this purpose hath caused certain articles, (namely 20. in number) containing in them

matters of damages, molestations, violences, and injuries committed and offered against the said Master generall & his subjects, by our sayd soveraigne lord the king his subjects & liege people, to be exhibited, given up and delivered unto our lord the king aforesaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the sayd 20. articles, by the aforesaid ambassadors, commissioners, and procurators, as in the acts & pleas had and made before the sayd ambassadors, commissioners and procurators, and in the records made and written of and about the examination of such articles, it is more at large contayned (unto the which the sayd ambassadors, commissioners, and messengers doe here in this place referre themselves) of the which articles also some are received by the commissioners aforesayd, and others are proroged unto a certaine time under written, even as in the foresayd registers it is more fully contayned and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles also exhibited a newe unto the sayd English ambassadors, in the land of Prussia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, & the rest are proroged until a terme underwritten) the same course is to be taken and observed, which was before appoynted and agreed upon, about the articles delivered and exhibited unto our foresayd sovraigne lorde the king, as is aforesayd.

Moreover, as touching the articles exhibited by the English ambassadours in the name and behalfe of their sayd soveraigne lord the king of England, unto the procuratours and commissioners of the foresayd lord the Master generall (of the which some are declared already, and the declaration of the rest is proroged untill a certayne terme undernamed, even as in the registers made of and upon the examination of the sayd articles, it is more manifestly provided) the same course is to be taken, which must be observed about the articles of the sayd lord the Master generall, exhibited, as well unto the foresayd soveraigne prince in England, as unto his ambassadors in the land of Prussia, even as about the sayd articles it is before concluded.

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp, and of other townes in the land of Livonia, many and great complaints have bene by way of articles exhibited and delivered unto the

sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, which for divers causes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed upon betweene the ambassadours, and the commissioners aforesayd, that the saide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, upon the first day of the moneth of May next ensuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Prussia, shall be put in ure) by themselves or their lawfull procurators, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a convenient, just, and reasonable reformation of all injuries attempted against them, then, or at some other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually set downe and limited, at the place aforesaid, by the consent of the ambassadours and commissioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceasing.

Provided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandises, whereof the said citizens and marchants of Livonia, in their articles received by the sayde English ambassadours, as is aforesayd, doe make mention, shall be justly esteemed, prized, and approoved, not by any of England, or of Prussia, or of Livonia, but by some other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which such like marchandise would have amounted unto, if, at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be solde at the town of Bruges in Flanders.

Forasmuch also, as divers and sundry Prussians (who exhibited manifolde Articles of complaints, being received by the said English Ambassadours, at their abode in Prussia) made not their personall appearance, before the saide English Ambassadours, in the lande of Prussia aforesaide: The prorogation above-mentioned was made unto the first day of the moneth of May: and also it was agreed upon by the saide Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, that the saide parties which had not appeared before shall have libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, upon the first of May aforesaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themselves or by their Procurators, and also to bring with them the letters testimonial, and patents, sealed with the seale of the saide Lord the Master generall, (he having first of all received sound and sufficient information from the

cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grievances any way unjustly inflicted upon them or any of them by the English) to the end that they may there by articles conveniently declare and prove, before the Ambassadours, Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners of both partes, the rate and value of their saide goods: and that in so doing they may obtaine convenient, just, and reasonable restitution, for all acts unjustly attempted against them, then, or at some other times effectually to bee set downe and limited at the foresaid place by the consent of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, even as it was above promised unto the marchants of Livonia.

But if they of Prussia last above-mentioned, shall not upon the first of May, and at the place appointed, for some cause, make their appearance, that then it shalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire unto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to insinuate and declare unto him their complaints before exhibited unto the saide English Ambassadours in the land of Prussia, or which complaints should have bene delivered at the foresaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finished and dispatched: and also by articles as is aforesaide, to declare and prove the true worth and estimation of all damages and grievances any wayes unjustly offered by the English unto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is above mentioned) effectually receive, and also speedily and easily obtaine convenient, just, and reasonable reformation and satisfaction, for al acts unjustly attempted against them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finished.

Moreover, it is appointed and agreed upon betweene the foresaide Ambassadours and Commissioners: that the forenamed sovereign Lord & the said lord the Master general are to send and set forward their Ambassadours, messengers, and Commissioners, upon the first of May unto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about those affaires, which shal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, it is enacted and concluded: that unto all and singular lawfull statutes,

ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the saide lorde the Master generall, in his land of Prussia, or by his Proconsuls and Consuls, and his governours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Prussia, unto the observation whereof, aswell the subjectes of the said Master general, as foreners and strangers, are tyed and bound: unto the very same statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al English marchants whatsoever resorting unto the land of Prussia, must be firmely bounden and subject.

Also it is ordained, that whatsoever sale-clothes are already transported, or at any time hereafter to bee transported out of England into Prussia by the English marchants, and shall there be offered to bee solde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they must containe both their endes.

Lastly, that the matters above-mentioned fall not short and voyde of their wished effect; the treaty and conference about all and singular damages and grievances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there must be, by the vertue of these presents, performed, a reformation and amendment) must be continued and proroged untill the first of May next ensuing: as by these presents they are continued and proroged with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordract aforesaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane space, as occasion shall serve, by both parties to be limited and assigned, or else within one yeere after the said first day of the moneth of May next ensuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, shall have performed unto them a convenient, just, and reasonable reformation on both partes. Provided alwayes, if within the terme of the saide yeere, some convenient, just, and reasonable reformation bee not performed unto the parties injuried, and endamaged, which are generally above mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foresaid yere shall expired, the Prussians shall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the saide Soveraigne Lorde the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they shal have gotten or bought, within the space of the foresaide three moneths: and that the English men also are likewise in all respects bounden to avoid and (no lawfull impedi-

ment hindering them) to withdrawe themselves and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the saide Master generall, without all molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoever, none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this regard.

Howbeit least that by the robberies and piracies of some insolent and perverse people, matter should be ministred unto the said lord the Master generall, of swarving from the faithfull observation of the foresaide agreements, or (which God forbid) any occasion bee given him of not observing them: it is also decreed by the often above mentioned Ambassadours and messengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the saide lorde Master generall his subjectes whatsoever shall be from hencefoorth unjustly taken upon the Sea, by any English Pirates, and shalbe caried into the realme of England, and there received, that the Governours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatsoever names they be called) at the which portes and places such marchandises and goods shall chaunce to arrive, beeing onely informed of the saide goods and marchandises, by sole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable suspition are bound to arrest and to keep them in safe custodie, favourably to be restored unto the owners therof, whensoever they shall be lawfully demaunded: which if they shall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth the saide governours and keepers are bound to make unto the parties endamaged, a recompense of their losses.

And for fault of justice to be executed, by the said governours and keepers, our soveraign lord the king above named, after he shall conveniently be requested by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths next ensuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted), to make correspondent, just, and reasonable satisfaction, unto the saide parties endamaged. Otherwise, that it shal be right lawfull for the saide lorde the Master generall, to arrest, and after the arrest to keepe in safe custodie the goods of the English marchants being in the land of Prussia, to the condigne satisfaction of such injuries, as have bene offered unto his subjects, untill his said subjects be justly and reasonably contented.

Likewise also in all respects, the same justice is to be done unto the English by the said Lord the Master

generall and his subjects in Prussia, even as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the above written clause, beginning, Howbeit least that &c. for the said Master general, and his subjects by the foresaide ambassadors of England, and the commissioners of the said lord the Master generall, that in like cases justice ought to be administred on the behalfe of himselfe, and of his subjects in the realme of England.

And that all and singular the covenants above written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inviolably be observed; the forenamed ambassadors, messengers, and commissioners, all and every of them, for the full credite, probation, and testimonie of all the premisses, have unto these present Indentures, made for the same purpose, caused everie one of their seales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the custodie of the English ambassadors, and the other part in the hands of the commissioners of Prussia. Given at the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. upon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King Henrie the fourth and the common societie of the Marchants of the Hans.

This Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Esturmy knight, and John Kington clearke, procurators, messengers, and commissioners sufficiently deputed and authorized by the most mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, & France, and lord of Ireland, for the performation of ye things underwritten, on the one part: & the hon. personages M. Henry Uredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thederic Knesvolt secretary, M. Simon Clovesten chief notary, and John Zotebotter citizen, being sufficiently made and ordained procurators and messengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeswold, for the demanding & obtaining severally, of due reformation, and recompense at the hands of our saide sovereigne lord the king, and of his messengers and commissioners aforesayde, for all injuries, damages, grievances, and manslaughters, any wayes unjustly done, and offred severally by the liege people and subjects of our soveraigne lord the king, unto the common societie

of the marchants of the Hans, and unto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide whatsoever on the other part, Witnesseth: That betweene all and every of the saide Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed unto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and subjects of our said soveraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common societie of the Dutch Hans aforesaide, from hencefoorth for one whole yeere and seven moneths immediately next ensuing and following, shalbe permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and securely, to exercise mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy & sell together, one of, and unto another, even as in times past, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time also, they have bin accustomed to exercise mutuall traffike and marchandise, and to buy and sell.

Also the saide William and John agreed and consented, that they themselves, or some other perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their saide lord the king in their stead, shall upon the first day of the moneth of May next to come, with the continuation of the dayes following, at the towne of Dordract in Holland, or upon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to bee limited, competently satisfie, and performe convenient recompence unto the saide common societie, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide, and also of other cities, townes, and villages of the Hans, of and for all injuries, damages, grievances, and drownings, or manslaughters done and committed, as they alleage, against them, delivered and exhibited in written articles, unto the above named William and John, or els heereafter to bee delivered and exhibited, either by the same procurators or by some others, which shall perhaps be authorized in their stead, or by the messengers procurators and commissioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, even as at the saide terme limited, or then perhaps to be proroged, there is appointed by the said William and John, reparation, reformation, and recompence unto the inhabitants of Prussia, and Livonia, for the injuries, damages, and grievances unjustly done and committed against them by the liege people and subjects of the saide soveraigne lord the king, in the presence of the mightie

lord the Master general of Prussia, in his land of Prussia, as in certain letters indented, bearing date in the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and recompence of such like injuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be understood as if it were inserted) it is more manifestly contained.

It was furthermore promised by the said William and John, that they should not inforce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common society of the Hans, or of the above named cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforesaid (having received sufficient information of their dwelling and place of abode) to more difficult or district proofes of their Articles of complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foresaide termes to come, to bee exhibited, then unto the inhabitants of the lands of Prussia and Livonia, according to the forme of the Indentures above mentioned.

Moreover the saide William and John doe promise, that so soone as they shall come into the kingdome of England, and before the presence of their king, they shall provide, that all and singular the priviledges graunted unto the marchants of the saide Hans by the renowmed kings of England, and confirmed by the said Soveraigne lord the king that now is, must, according to al their contents, be inviolably observed by the said soveraigne king and his subjects: and also, that from henceforth nothing is unjustly to be attempted, upon any occasion, pretense, or colour, by the saide Soveraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the prejudice of the sayde priviledges. They shall provide also, that all things heretofore attempted and practised against the saide priviledges, shall, by reasonable amendement and just reformation, utterly be abolished.

But if after the date of these presents (which God forfend) within the space of the said one yere and seven moneths prescribed any damages, injuries or grievances, in ships, goods, or persons, should, either by the English and the inhabitants of England be unjustly inflicted upon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforesaid, or by any marchants or others of the cities or townes of the saide Hans, either unto the English, or unto any of the inhabitants of that Realme,

upon any fained pretense whatsoever, all and singular the foresaid messengers, commissioners, ambassadours, and procurators have promised, that all such damages, injuries and molestations so inflicted by them who shall offer and commit them, must bee reformed and amended, after the very same forme and manner, that in the like case reformation, reparation and amends of injuries, damages, and molestations committed by the English against them of Prussia is to be performed, according unto a certaine clause contained in the letters above mentioned, which beginneth: Howbeit least that &c. continuing unto that clause: And that all the covenants above written &c.

It was also concluded betweene the foresaide messengers, commissioners, and procurators, and with one generall consent agreed upon, that if from the first day of the moneth of May next to come, within one whole yeere following, some convenient, just, and reasonable reformation be not performed unto the parties injuried and damnified generally above mentioned, in regard of their damages, molestations, and injuries: then, within three moneths after the saide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities aforesaid are bound, without any molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoever (none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this behalfe) to avoyde (and if no lawfull impediment shall hinder them) to abstaine and depart from the Realmes and dominions of the said Soveraigne king of England, with their marchandize and other goods bought or gotten within the space of the saide three moneths: and also the English likewise in all respects shall avoide, abstaine, and depart from the territories and dominions of the Hans cities aforesaide.

Also it was promised by the saide William and John, that at the terme appointed, namely upon the first of May next following, or at some other terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there must be made a due recompense, and a proportionall satisfaction, for all those persons of the land of Prussia, Livonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who have unjustly bene drowned, and slaine by the English: and that according to the tenour of a certain schedule written concerning a recompense to be had in regarde of the saide persons drowned and slaine, and presented unto

them by Albertus Rode consul of the citie of Thoren, and by the forenamed procurators and messengers of the cities aforesaid, they must faithfully and effectually, to the utmost of their abilitie indevour, for the obtaining of the saide recompense and amends. In witnesse whereof (these letters of Indenture remaining in the possession of the saide William and John the messengers, procurators, & commissioners of England aforesaid, and left in their custodie, by the above named procurators and messengers Henri Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and John Sotebotter, of their certaine knowledge and assurance) and for the full confirmation and testimonie of al the premisses, the foresaid procurators and messengers have put to their seales. Given in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of December in the yere of our Lord 1405.

William Esturmy knight, and John Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe sufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambassadours, procurators, messengers and commissioners, by our said soveraigne lord the king, namely in regard of the molestations, injuries and damages unjustly done and committed against the liege people and subjectes of the foresaide most excellent Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England & France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of Wismer and Rostok underwritten, their common counsel being assembled for the same purpose, & authorized also, and as well closely as expresly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common society of the marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this present diet at the towne of Hage situate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very same occasion, demaund of you Syr John de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies for the cities of Wismer and Rostok, and sufficiently ordeined by authority requisite in this behalfe, to be the procurators and messengers of the said cities, that convenient, just, and reasonable satisfaction and recompense may certainely and effectually be done unto the injuried and endamaged parties, who are specified in the articles under written.

Imprimis, that about the feast of Easter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. Henry van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Hawfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wismer and of Rostok, being of the societie of the Hans,

tooke, by maine force, a ship of Newcastle upon Tine, called Godezere sailing upon the Sea towards Prussia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging unto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, John Paulin, and Thomas de Chester: which ship, together with the furniture thereof amounteth unto the value of foure hundred pounds: also the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the summes of money contained in the said ship amounted unto the value of 200. marks of English money: moreover they unjustly slew John Patanson and John Russell in the surprising of the shippe and goods aforesaid, and there they imprisoned the sayde parties taken, and, to their utter undoing, detayned them in prison for the space of three whole yeeres.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine persons of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuse of Hull of divers goods and marchandizes in a ship called the Shipper Berline of Prussia, beeing then valued at 160. nobles.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strotbeker, by force of armes, and by the assistance of the men of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, did upon the Sea neere unto Norway, wickedly and unjustly take from John Tutteburie, five pieces of waxe, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a last of osmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred seventie sixe nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one John van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainously and unjustly tooke a shippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thousand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one John van Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Everade Pilgrimson, and divers others of the Hans, did upon the Sea neere unto Norway villainously and unjustly take a shippe of John Wisedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with divers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, waxe, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. one Clays Scheld,

and others above written of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine other of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and unjustly took from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of waxe, to the value of 18. poundes, out of the ship called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. one Goddekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and divers others of Wismer and Rostok, and of the Hans, wickedly and unjustly tooke out of a ship of Elbing (the master whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, John Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenswither of Yorke, namely in werke, waxe, osmunds, and bowstaves, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and unjustly took out of a ship of Holland (the master whereof was called Hinkensman) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Thester of Yorke, and a chest, with armour, silver and golde of the foresaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1393. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, and other their complices of the Hans, wickedly and unjustly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fishes, to the value of 133.li. 6.s.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feast of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wismer marchant of the Hans, with the assistance of other his complices of the Hans aforesaide, wickedly and unjustly tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London five lasts of herrings, besides 32. pounds, in the sea called Northsound.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wisle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and unjustly took out of a ship of Prussia (wherof the master was named Rorebek) from John Seburgh marchant of Colchester two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of an 100. markes: from Stephan Flispe, and John Plumer marchants of the same town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the same towne, two packes of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. marks:

from William Munde marchant of the same town, two fardels of woollen cloth, worth 40.li. & from John Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the same towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. marks. Moreover they tooke and imprisoned certaine English men, which were in the said ship, namely William Fubborne servant unto John Diere, Thomas Mersh servant unto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ransome 20. nobles of English money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforesaide, which William, by reason of the extremity of that imprisonment, lost the sight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foresaide Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunsome twentie nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, upon the coastes of Denmarke and Norway, beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and John Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine shippe of Elbing in Prussia (whereof one Clays Goldesmith was master) with divers woollen clothes of the saide Thomas, John, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thousande marks English, and carried the persons and goods aforesaide, away with them: and the said Thomas, John, Robert, and Reginald they imprisoned at Courtbuttressow, and there detained them, untill they paide an hundred markes for their redemption.

Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. some of the inhabitants of Wismer and of Rostok wickedly tooke at Longsound in Norway, a certaine shippe of West-Stowe in Zeland (the Master whereof was one Gerard Dedissen) laden with diverse goods and marchandises of John Hughson of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of sheepe, with butter, masts, sparres, boordes, questingstones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the said things in their possession, some of the Hans being their assistants in the premisses.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans of Rostok, and of Wismer, tooke upon the coast of England, neere unto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the master) laden with bay salt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a

thousand canvasse clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the saide goods in their possession, the said Hugh being endamaged, by the losse of his ship, and of his goods aforesaid 800. nobles and the foresaid Master and the mariners loosing, in regard of their wages, canvas, and armour, 200. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certaine malefactors of Wismer wickedly and unjustly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ship of Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the master Thomas Smith) laden with salt, cloth, and salmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the said ship and goods in their possession, some of the Hans their confederates ayding and assisting them at the same time.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans tooke upon the sea a certain ship of one John Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cley was master) and conveighed the said ship unto Maustrond in Norway, and the saide Master and mariners they robbed of divers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and salt fishes being in the same ship, to the value of 500. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, unlawfully tooke upon the sea a certaine ship of one William Bets of Cley called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was master) and conveyed the ship it self unto Mawstrond in Norway, and there robbed the master and his partners of divers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and salt fishes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the said masters mates they maliciously drowned.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the nativitie of S. John Baptist, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, unlawfully took upon the sea a certain ship of Nicholas Steyhard and John Letis of Cley called the Nicholas (wherof John Prest was master) and conveyed the said ship unto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his companie of divers commodities, namely of furniture and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 320. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast aforesaid, the said Godekins and Stertebeker, & their companions of the Hans unjustly took upon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Isabel (whereof William Noie was master) and conveyed it unto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his company of divers commodities, as namely of furniture, and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 406. nobles.

Item, in the yeere next above mentioned, upon the Saterday, about the foresaid feast, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans unlawfully took upon the sea, a certain ship of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was master, and also wickedly and unjustly drowned in the bottom of the sea divers commodities, as namely salt fishes, together with the ship it selfe.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feast of S. Michael the archangel, the foresaid Godekin & Stertebeker, with other their confederats of the Hans, took at Langsound in Norway a certain crayer of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was master) & the foresaid crayer they wickedly and unjustly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the nativitie of S. John Baptist, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans unjustly tooke a certain ship of Simon Durham, called the Dogger-ship, and the Peter of Wiveton, laden with salt fishes (whereof John Austen was master) upon the coast of Denmarke. And they caried away the saide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foresaid salt fishes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreover, the master, and 25. mariners in the same ship they maliciously slewe, and a certaine ladde of the saide Dogger they caried with them into Wismer.

Item, in the foresaid yeere, and about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, unjustly tooke upon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Lyderpole, and John Coote of Wiveton: and the master and mariners which were in the saide shippe, they villanously slue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godsonne, nephew, and servant of the foresaid Simon Durham. Which ship,

with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Item, in the very same yeere, about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker & other their complices wickedly spoiled a certaine ship of the foresaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Gervase Cat was master, lying at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fishing, and likewise unjustly tooke away with them the salt fishes, and furniture of the said ship. Moreover, the master and his company that were in the said Dogger they beate and wounded, so that they utterly lost their fishing for that yeere, the master and his said companie being endamaged thereby, to the summe of 200. nobles.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1396. the foresaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices unjustly tooke upon the sea a certain crayer, called the Buss of Zeland, which one John Ligate marchant, and servant unto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Prussia, on the behalfe of the said Simon, to saile for England, and spoiled the said craier, and also tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandises of the said Simon, being in the foresaid ship, to the value of 66. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Bussship, which Alan Barret the servant and factor of the foresaid Simon Durham had laden with mastes, sparres, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the said Simon, and unjustly tooke from thence the goods of the said Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and carried the same away.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and others of the Hans unjustly tooke upon the sea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foresaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain crayer of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzik in Prussia.

Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe avouch, verifie, & affirme, that about the feast of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. sundry malefactors and robbers of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ships,

arrived at the towne of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the said town by strong assault, and also wickedly and unjustly took al the marchants of Lenne there residing with their goods and cattels, and burnt their houses and mansions in the same place, and put their persons unto great ransoms: even as by the letters of safeconduct delivered unto the said marchants it may more evidently appeare, to the great damage and impoverishment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houses belonging unto the said marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, John Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.

The letters of Fr: Ulricus Master of Prussia directed unto the king of England, signifying that he is contented with the agreements concluded by his messengers at Hage.

To the most renowmed prince and mighty lord L Henrie king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, our most gracious lord.

Unto your highnes pleasure at all assaies humbly recommending my voluntarie service &c. Most renowmed king, mighty prince, and gracious lord, we received of late with great reverence as it becommeth us, by our welbeloved Arnold de Dassel the bearer of these presents, your Majesties letters of late directed unto us, making mention amongst other matters of certaine appointments first made and concluded between the noble and worthy personages William Esturmy knight, John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambassadours and messengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtensten great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary & commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treasurer, being the procuratours and commissioners of Fra. Conradus de Jungingen our last predecessour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redressing, reformation, and amendement of unjust attempts committed on both sides, at our castle of Marienburgh, and also very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth August in the yeare immediately past, betweene your

foresayde ambassadours William Esturmy knight, and John Kington clerke, for your part, and our trusty and welbeloved commissioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaster of our citie of Dantzik, and John Crolow citizen of the same citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowledge in this behalfe, our sayd commissioners made relation unto us and unto our whole counsell, that associating unto themselves our messengers of Livonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and John Epensheid, together with your foresaid ambassadours and messengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the above mentioned summes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforesayd. With this speciall proviso, that in like manner satisfaction be made in all points, both unto other of our damnified subjects of Prussia, namely such whose goods or the true value thereof have bene finally adjudged by the judges or professors of our lawes, and unto such who having brought their articles of complaints unto the audience of the most dread and mighty prince and lorde, our lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes most soveraigne, were in conclusion to have the estimations of their goods to be adjudged by the sentence of the sayd lord, with the advise of two of his counsellers, and also unto other of our subjects who have brought in sufficient proofe of damages unjustly inflicted upon them by your subjects, over and besides the premisses. So that in like maner satisfaction be made unto the common societie of the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament set downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was above provided and enacted on their behalfe, namely if they will rest contented with our subjects in the courses and meanes then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere unto them in this behalfe. Afterward our messengers aforesayd, both they of Prussia and of Livonia demanded convenient, just, and speedy satisfaction, with the payment of all and singular the summes above mentioned, due unto both parts (so farre foorth as equity and reason would yeeld unto, for the recompense of the parties injuried and endamaged on both sides) to be made within one whole yere accompting from the feast of Easter now last expired unto the very same feast next to come in the yere immediatly following, & that in three several termes of payment,

by three portions of the said summes equally to be divided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and stoode upon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendement of all unjust attempts committed on both parts ought to bee performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwise your ambassadors aforesayd decreed that the sayd satisfaction should be performed unto the parties injuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feast of Easter last past. And when your ambassadours were not contented with the maner of satisfaction set downe by our men, nor our commissioners were willing in any sort to consent unto that course which was thought convenient by your ambassadors, the honorable messengers of the sea-townes of the Hans being there at that time present, made a motion that the foresayd satisfaction might be performed within two yeeres and an halfe, accompting from the feast of Easter last past, often before mentioned: yet under a certaine protestation, namely if both parties should agree unto that forme of satisfaction, and if they should thinke good finally and conclusively to yeeld their consent unto it. Which kind of satisfaction also conceived by the messengers, your sayd ambassadours without giving notice therof unto your royall Majestie, refused finally to approve; being rather desirous to make a true & faithfull report of the sayd forme of satisfaction last above mentioned unto your kingly highnesse, and that in such sorte, that (as they hoped) effectuall satisfaction and payment of all and singuler the summes due and to bee due on both partes should more conveniently and speedily bee performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more speedy and convenient appointments of termes, for the sayd satisfaction friendly on both parts to be performed in, would have proceeded from your bountifull and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (most mighty prince) albeit it was never the meaning of our foresayd predecessor, so far foorth as these affayres concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the sayd busines so many and such long distances of time, and that for divers respects, both because restitution unto the parties robbed consisted herein, and also because the sayd restitutions and satis-

factions are to be made unto poore people, widowes, orphanes, and other miserable creatures, diversly and miserably slaine and oppressed: notwithstanding we being moved with hearty & fervent zeale and speciall affection unto your royall crowne of England, and having due regard and consideration of your most excellent Majestie, upon the advise of our honourable brethren our counsellers, doe thankfully receive, & by the tenour of these presents totally ratifie and approve such satisfactions of the foresayd summes howsoever due unto our subjects both Prussians and Livonians, in friendly sorte to be performed at such times and seasons limited and prefixed by your highnes as are expressed in your majesties letters, and also of other summes which within one yeare immediately ensuing after the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes to be made on their part before your chancelour at your citie of London shall be found due unto them. Conditionally that without inconvenience of delay and impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the premisses. In like maner also we our selves within the termes of payment above mentioned will procure satisfaction to be without fayle perfourmed unto your subjects endamaged, with the summe of 766. nobles, being in regard of their losses, of the which they have given up sufficient informations, due unto them: and with other like summes also which are by sufficient proofes, within the yeare aforesayd, and in maner and forme prescribed to be exhibited before our treasurer at our citie of Dantzik. The almighty vouchsafe prosperously and long time to preserve your majesties royal person. Given at our castle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1408.

Fr. Ulricus de Jungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Jerusalem.

The letters of king Henry the 4. sent unto Fr. Ulricus master general of Prussia, wherein he doth absolutely approve the foresaid conference holden at Hage, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene England and Prussia.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, unto the noble & mighty personage

of sacred religion Ulricus de Jungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Jerusalem, our entirely beloved friend, greeting and increase of unfained friendship. After divers conferences had in sundry places beyond the seas, betweene the ambassadours and messengers of your late predecessor and of your selfe also, on the one parte, and betweene our especiall ambassadors and messengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, & restitutions in certaine maner & forme to be performed unto our subjects of both parts, in regard of manifold injuries practised against them both, and after that, in the last conference holden by the ambassadours of us both at the towne of Hage in Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of satisfaction, by way of finall conclusion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambassadours condescended unto, because they durst not proceede unto the same conclusion without our privitie, relation thereof at length being by them made before us and our counsel: we returned unto your honour an answere in writing by our letters under our privie seale, of our full purpose and intention (unto the which letters we doe at this present referre our selves, as if they were here againe expresly written) what we thought good to have done in this behalfe: so that wee also might by your friendly letters be certaynly informed of your will and expresse consent, being likewise conformable unto your foresayd intention. Nowe whereas since that time we have of late received the certaintie of the matter by your letters written unto us from your castle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September last past, contayning in effect amongst other matters, that you being mooved with a fervent zeale and speciall affection (as you write) unto the royall crowne of our realme, and having due regard and consideration of our royall majestie, upon the advise of your honourable brethren your counsellers, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the said letters of yours totally approve the concord of a certaine satisfaction to be performed with the payment of certaine summes of money howsoever due unto your subjects as well of Prussia as of Livonia, expressed in our former letters, within the termes prefixed by our consent and limited in our said letters, and also of other summes which within

one whole yeare immediatly following the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes on their part to bee made before our chauncelour at our citie of London, shall be found due unto them: conditionally, that without inconvenience of delay and impediments, the premisses be performed as they ought to be. And that your selfe also will without fayle, upon the termes appoynted for the said payments, procure satisfaction to be made accordingly unto our endamaged subjects with the summes due unto them by reason of their losses, whereof they have sufficient information. Wherefore in regard of those your friendly letters, and your courteous answere returned by them unto us, as is aforesaid, wee doe yeelde unto you right unfained thanks. But because it will undoubtedly be most acceptable and pleasing both unto us and unto our people, and unto you and your subjects, that the zeale and fervencie of love which hath from auncient times growen and increased betweene our progenitours for them and their subjects, and your predecessors and their subjects, and which by the insolencie of certayne lewde persons, without any consent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene us and you and mutually betweene the subjects of us both, may be put in perpetuall ure and obtaine full strength in time to come, sithens hereupon (by Gods assistance) it is to be hoped, that unspeakeable commodity and quiet will redound unto both parts: may it seeme good unto your discretion, as it seemeth expedient unto us, that some messengers of yours sufficiently authorised to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendship, may with all convenient speede be sent unto our presence. At whose arrivall, not onely in this busines so profitable and behoovefull, but also in certaine other affaires concerning the former treaties and conclusions, they may, yea and of necessitie must greatly avayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloved friend) even as upon confidence of the premisses we have thought good to grant unto the marchants and subjects of our realme full authority to resort unto your dominions, so we doe in like maner graunt unto your marchants and subjects free licence and liberty with their marchandises and goods securely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to stay, and at their pleasures thence to returne home.

Moreover, if Arnold Dassel, who last of all presented your foresayd letters unto us, shal thinke good in the meane season to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by serious consideration and deliberate consulting with our comissioners more conveniently and prosperously finde out wayes and meanes, for the more speedy expedition of all the premisses. Fare ye well in Christ. Given under our privie seale at our palace of Westminster, the seventh of March, in the yere of our lord 1408. according to the computation of the Church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

A new concord concluded between king Henry the 4. and Ulricus de Jungingen Master generall of Prussia, in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

By this indenture or letters indented be it evidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) unto all faithfull Christians, that the noble & honourable personages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of London, Master John Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the same citie, the commissioners of the most soveraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaster of Elbing, and John Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commissioners, deputies and messengers of the right noble and religious personage Fr. Ulricus de Jungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Jerusalem, having in the names of the sayd king and Master by vertue of the power on both parts committed unto them, sufficient authority, have appointed and with one consent agreed upon all and singular the things underwritten.

Imprimis for the conservation of mutuall love and wonted amitie, and for the tranquilitie of sweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and singular the liege people & subjects of the Realme of England and the Marchants of the territories & dominions of the said Realme and all other persons of what state or condition soever, shall and may safely and securely, as well by land as by water enter into the parts of Prussia, and there mutually converse, and freely after the maner of

Marchants exercise traffique aswell with the Prussians as with others, of what nation or qualitie soever, there also make their abode, and thence unto their owne homes and dwelling places returne, and depart unto any place whither and so often as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatsoever; faithfully paying in the meane time all rights & customes due in regard of their said wares and Marchandize. Reserved alwaies unto the said Master and his successours all right and remedie ordained, granted, and vouchsafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention shall be made in the articles following.

Item it is ordained, that all and singular the subjects of the said Master generall and of his order, of what state and condition soever, shall and may, as well by water as by land enter into the kingdome of England and into the territories and dominions thereof, and there mutually converse, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with all English people as with others of what nation or qualitie soever, and there also make their abode, and thence returne unto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will and as oft as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize and wares whatsoever: truely paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of their said wares and Marchandize. Reserved alwayes unto the said soveraigne king, his heires and successours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted unto them in certaine obligations, by the commissioners and procurators of the said Master generall above-named, and in the name of the said Master generall.

Item it is with one consent agreed upon, promised, and graunted that for all and singular damages, grievances, and robberies howsoever done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresaid soveraigne Prince and his subjects whatsoever, and all others which at the time of the grievances, damages, and robberies aforesaid, were, or at this present are the said soveraigne king his subjects; there are due to be payed unto the said king or his successours by the said Master generall or his successours, in full satisfaction and recompence of the damages, grievances, and robberies above-written,

certaine summes of English money: even as in the letters obligatorie made by the said Master generall his procurators, and messengers above-named in this behalfe, and sealed with their seales, and delivered unto the forenamed procurators and commissioners of our said Lord the king it is expressed more at large.

Item it is covenanted, graunted, and promised, that no subject of the said Master generall or of his successours, by reason or occasion of the damages, grievances, and robberies aforesaid, shall, by the said soveraigne king or his successours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by any other person whatsoever who in regard of the foresaid losses, grievances and robberies hath bene molested and damnified, or at the procurement or instant suite of any, be attached, arrested, imprisoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the said Master generall, or of his successors, or of any of them, shalbe laid hold on, arrested, or detained.

Item it is covenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and subjects of the sayde Master generall or of his successors shall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt next above-written, chance to be molested or endamaged: that then the foresaid soveraigne Lord the King and his successors the kings of England are bound to make full satisfaction for all such losses as the subjects of the said Master generall or of his successours or any of them shall for that cause have unjustly sustained, unto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foresaide soveraigne Prince, or his successours in the Realme of England, being conveniently requested by the letters of the said Master generall or of his successours, shall refuse to doe, that then after the terme of sixe moneths immediatly following the said deniall or refusall, it shalbe right lawfull for the Master generall that now is and for any of his successors in time to come (having first made convenient proofe that the foresaid request was by him or them exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the foresaid king his subjects found in the land of Prussia, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and recompense of any person or persons whatsoever unjustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the said goods under arrestes, untill condigne satisfaction and amends be made unto the party or parties molested.

Item by the commissioners and procuratours often above-named it is covenanted, promised, and graunted, that for all and singular the damages, molestations, and robberies by the foresayde soveraigne king his liege people & subjects howsoever before the date of these presents committed and offred against the said Master general or against any of his subjects whether Prussians or Livonians, and against all others who at the time of the damages, grievances & robberies aforesaid were, or at this present are the subjects of the Master generall aforesaid (except notwithstanding certaine damages & grievances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof also some provisoes shalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before ye date of these presents by ye said soveraigne king his liege people and subjects inflicted upon certaine subjects of the foresaid general Master, especially them of Prussia which hereafter shalbe named) there are certaine summes of money due to be payed unto the said Master generall or unto his successors by the said soveraigne Prince or his successours for the full satisfaction of the foresaid damages, molestations and robberies inflicted upon the Prussians and Livonians, and the others above mentioned, even as in the leters obligatorie of the said soveraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being given and delivered unto the said Master generall his procuratours and messengers, it is declared more at large.

Item, it is covenanted, graunted and promised, that none of the liege people or subjects of the foresaid soveraigne prince or of his heires shall, by reason or occasion of the damages, grievances, and robberies aforesaid, by the sayd Master generall or his successours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in respect of the said damages, grievances and robberies above mentioned, hath beene molested or damnified, or by any of their procurements or instant suites, shalbe attached, arrested, imprisoned or detained; nor that any goods of the subjects of the said soveraigne king or his heires or any of them, shall bee attached, arrested, or detained. Reserved alwayes unto the forenamed Master generall and his subjects all right and remedie any way requisite or competent unto them by meanes of the obligations aforesaid.

Item it is covenanted and agreed that if any of the

liege people or subjects of the sayde soveraigne prince or of his heires and successours shall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next above-written) chaunce to bee molested or endamaged; that then the saide Master generall and his successours, for all losses and hinderances which the liege people and subjects the foresayde soveraigne prince or of his heires or successours, shall by that meanes have unjustly sustained, are bound to make full satisfaction unto the partie endamaged. Which if the Master generall aforesaid or his successours being conveniently requested by the letters of the sayde soveraigne prince or of his heires, shall refuse to doe; that then, after the space of sixe moneths next ensuing the time of the foresayde request, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed soveraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time shall be (convenient proofe being first brought, that the foresayd request had conveniently beene exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the sayde Master generall his subjects founde in the Realme of England, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and amends of any person or persons unjustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the sayde goods under safe custodie, untill condigne satisfaction and amends be made unto the partie or parties aggrieved.

Item it is covenanted, that besides the summes due unto the sayde Master generall and his successours in the behalfe of his subjects both of Prussia and of Livonia (whereof mention is made in the former Articles) there are due to bee payed unto the sayde Master generall and his successours, for sundry other damages, grievances, and robberies against himselfe and divers other of his subjects of Prussia, namely Matthewe Ludekensson, Arnold Ashen, Henri Culeman, John Unkeltop, John Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerstene of Elbing, done and committed by the sayde soveraigne king his liege people and subjects underwritten, even before the date of these presents, for the full satisfaction of the sayde damages, grievances and robberies, certaine summes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Inprimis by Tutburie, and Terry of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due unto ye foresaid Matthew Ludekinson. Item by Nicholas Scot of Caleis the sonne of Tutbury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due unto the foresayd Arnold de Aschen. Item by the

inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one John Jolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due unto Henrie Culeman aforesayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (Whose Capitaine was one Pideville) 125. nobles which are due unto the said John Unkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whose Captaines were Henry Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due unto the foresayde John Halewater, in respect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the selfe same parties, being due unto the sayde John Halewater by reason that they detained his ship from him three moneths and more, which ship was of the burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foresayde time five and fourtie servants maintained at the expenses of the sayde John Halewater. Item that Sir William de Ethingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the sea, must bee summoned to alleage a reasonable cause (for that the sayd Sir William with his servants expelled the said John Halewater out of his ship for the space of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the good and victuals of the said John to the summe of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the said summe of 114. nobles unto John Halewater aforesaid: which if hee shall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the first of April next ensuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee must be compelled to pay unto the foresaid John the said 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Caleis (whose captaines were Michael Scot, Bishop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due unto the foresayde Eggard Scoff, because the saide soveraigne king hath given them in charge by the said Michael Scot and the rest concerning the payment of the summe aforesaid. Item by John Bilis neere unto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due unto Nicholas Wolmersten of Elbing. Which summes of nobles must by the kings authoritie bee levied at the hands of his subjects above-mentioned, betweene the time that nowe is and the feast of the Purification of the blessed virgine which shall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee delivered and payed unto the sayd Master generall or his lawfull procurator, or unto his successours or their lawfull procuratours, at the Citie of London, upon the feast aforesaid.

Item it is covenanted that besides the summes specified in the foresayde letters obligatorie made in the behalfe of the said soveraigne prince, there are due to be paied unto one John Marion of Wersingham lately deceased being in his life-time the liege subject of the foresaid soveraigne prince 200. nobles of English money in regard of certaine injuries and robberies done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresayde John, by one Eghard Scoff subject unto the said Master generall, for the full satisfaction of the saide damages and robberies to bee made unto the said deceased John, his wife, children, heires or executors by the said Egghard, his heires, or by the administrators of his goods at the time and place above-mentioned.

Item it is covenanted, confirmed, and promised, that for all the injuries and robberies done and committed against one John Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time subject unto the sayd Master generall, by the liege people and subjects of the said soveraigne king the inhabitants of Scardeburgh before the date of these presents; for the full recompense of all such injuries and robberies, there must bee payed unto one John Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of English money, upon the feast of Easter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guiltie and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitive sentence condemned unto the said John in the summe of 800. nobles by reason of the injuries and robberies aforesaid. Except the lawful expenses in this behalfe layed out: they are also taxed in due time for the issue. And therefore the foresayde condemned parties (whose names are in the sentence against them pronounced in this behalfe, more expresly contained) must in the meane season by the kings authoritie be compelled and constrained really and actually to obey the foresaid sentence, namely by delivering and paying unto John Gruk the summe of 800. nobles at the time and place above mentioned, with reasonable expences, wherein also the said parties stand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reserved.

Item it is covenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henrie de Percy the yonger after they shall come unto lawfull age, and shall have attained unto the possessions and goods of their inheritance, must be compelled by the kings authoritie (justice going before) to make

satisfaction unto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the summe of 838. nobles in lieu of certaine corne and graine which the foresaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and received of the said great procuratour, for the use of the castle of Zutberwik. In testimonie and confirmation of all the which premisses, the said Tedericus, Lefardus, and John Crolow, of their certaine knowledges have put their seales unto these present letters indented, in the presence of the above-named Richard Merlow, John Kington, and William Askam, commissioners for the behalfe of England. Given at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

A Charter of King Henry the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne to the English Marchants resident in the partes of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden and Germanie for the chusing of Governours among themselves.

HENRY by the grace of God king of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland: to all to whom these present letters shall come, sendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and discreete rule and governement, sundry damages, strifes, oppressions, and wrongs oftentimes heretofore have bene moved and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans steeds, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, unlesse we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better governement to be maintained among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to prevent the perils and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde Marchants and others which shall travaile out of our said Realme into the partes aforesaid may justly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of these presents to the said Marchants, that they may freely and without danger assemble and meete together as often and whensoever they please in some convenient and honest place where they shall thinke good, and that they may choose among themselves certaine sufficient and fit persons for their governours in those parts at their good liking. And furthermore we give and graunt to the

said Governours which are in such sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in us lieth, speciall power and authoritie to rule and governe all and singular the English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayre to the parts aforesaid by themselves or their sufficient Deputies, and to minister unto them and every of them in their causes and quarels whatsoever, which are sprung up or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid full and speedie justice, and to reforme all maner of questions, contentious discords, and debates moved or to be moved betweene the English Marchants remayning in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse, appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, restore, repayre and satisfie all transgressions, damages, misprisions, outrages, violences, and injuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demaund and receive the like restitutions, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better governement of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the aforesaid governours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them; or any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreover we doe ratifie, confirme, and approove, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoved, wee command firmely and inviolably there to be observed all just, and reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and established by the said governors, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and also all just and reasonable ordinances made & established by the late governours of the aforesaid English Marchants with the common consent of the sayd Marchants for this their governement in the parts aforesayd, according to the privileges and authorities now granted unto them by the Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the partes aforesayd, or which shall be made and established by the aforesayd governours now as is mentioned to be chosen according to the aforesaid privileges heretofore

graunted, or other privileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by the aforesayde Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of these presents wee straitely commaund all and singular the aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, advise, obey and assist, as it becommeth them, the sayde governours so to bee chosen, and their deputies in all and singular the premisses, and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and governement. Given in our Palace at Westminster under the testimonie of our great Seale the sixt day of June in the fift yeere of our reigne.

A note touching the mighty ships of King Henry the fift, mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the Sea, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

Eodem Anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui Anno tertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Navibus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Angliæ misit fratrem suum Johannem Ducem Bedfordiæ & Andegaviæ, qui pugnavit cum eis & vicit, & Naves cepit, & quasdam submersit: cæteri fugerunt cum Hispanis navibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratiæ 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum devicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, & propter eorum naves fecit Rex fieri naves quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metricè scribitur.

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus arvo
Gallos, Hispanos, Janos, devicit, & Urget,
Vastat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Navali bello bis devicti quoque Jani.

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the sixt, for the trade to Norwey, Sweveland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.

Item because that the kings most deare Uncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway & Sweveland, as the same our soveraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath understood, considering the manifold & great losses, perils, hurts and damage which have late happened aswell to him and his, as to other foraines and strangers, and also friends and speciall subjects of our said soveraigne Lord

the king of his Realme of England, by ye going in, entring & passage of such forain & strange persons into his realme of Norwey & other dominions, streits, territories, jurisdictions & places subdued and subject to him, specially into his Iles of Fynmarke, and elswhere, aswell in their persons as their things and goods: for eschuing of such losses, perils, hurts & damages, and that such like (which God forbid) should not hereafter happen: our said soveraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and statuted, that all and singular strangers, aswell Englishmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his Realme of Norwey and other dominions, streits, territories, jurisdictions, Isles & places aforesaid with their ships, to the intent to get or have fish or any other Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordained and stablished his staple for the concourses of strangers and specially of Englishmen, to the exercise of such Marchandises: granting to the said Englishmen that they shall there injoy in and by all things the same favour, privileges and prerogatives which they of the Hans did enjoy. Therefore our said soveraigne Lord the king willing the love, affinitie and amities to be firmely observed, which betwixt his said Uncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streites, territories, jurisdictions and their said places, and the same our soveraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, subjects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our said soveraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby such amities by reason of any dissensions, enemities or discords might be broken: by the advise of the Lords spirituall & temporall & of the commons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor subjects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, straits, territories, jurisdictions & places of the said king of Denmarke against ye ordinance, prohibition & interdiction of ye same his Uncle above remembred, & in contempt of the same, upon paine of forfeiture of all their moveable goods & imprisonment of their persons at the kings will.

Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Henry the sixt concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.

ITEM because that our soveraigne Lord the king at the grievous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impoverished, undone, & in point to be destroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our soveraigne Lord, because that they do daily take of his said faithful subjects their goods, so that they have taken of marchants of York and Kingston upon Hul goods & marchandises to the valour of v.M.li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of ye Realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx.M.li. wherof they have no remedie of the said king of Denmarke, nor of none other, forasmuch as none of them commeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing have in the same Realme of England, & that ye goods be taken out of the same Realme: The king willing to provide remedy for his said liege people, hath ordeined & established, that if ye goods of any of ye said his lieges be or shalbe taken by the said king of Denmarke or any of his said lieges, the keeper of the privie seale for ye time being, shall have power to make to ye partie grieved letters of request under the privie seale, w^tout any other pursuite to be made to any for restitution to be had of ye goods so taken & to be taken. And if restitution be not made by such letters, the king our soveraigne lord by the advise of his counsel shal provide to the partie grieved his covenable remedy, according as ye case requireth.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England, and to all English-men.

THE true processe of English policie
Of utterward to keepe this regne in
Of our England, that no man may deny,

Ner say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,
Cherish Marchandise, keepe the admiraltie;
That we bee Masters of the narrowe see.

For Sigismond the great Emperour,
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour,
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortalitie,
And ever well kept round about the see.

And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,
(When hee perceived two Townes Calcis and Dover)
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,
To keepe the sea and soone to come over
To werre outwards and your regne to recover:
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Majestee
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe?
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre?
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe?
For needs hem must take trewes every foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow see.

Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shewe at eye this conclusion,
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.
For foure things our Noble sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see.

Where ben our ships, where ben our swerds become?
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.
Who dare well say that lordship should take keepe?
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will ever thee,
For very shame to keepe about the see.

Shall any Prince, what so be his name,
Which hath Nobles moch leche ours,

Bee Lord of see: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop us, take us, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disteyne our honours?
For cowardise alas it should so bee.
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the see.

Of the commodities of Spaine and of Flanders. The first Chapter.

Knowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Datis,
And Licoris, Sivill oyle, and graine,
White Pastill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell also:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn:
Saffron, Quickesilver, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,
Unto Bruges as to her staple fayre:
The Haven of Scluse hir Haven for her repayre
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:
Where many vessels and fayre are abiding.
But these Marchandes with their shippes great,
And such chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes must nede take on hand
By the coasts to passe of our England,
Betwixt Dover and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els such matter bring about?

And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fustian, and also Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great substance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our English woll.

Then may it not sinke in mannis brayne,
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our costes passe:
Hee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.

Wee should have peace with the grounds tweyne
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well sayne.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And nether may well live without other:
They may not liven to maintaine their degrees,
Without our English commodities:
Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Susteineth the Commons Flemings I understand.
Then if England would her wolle restraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede must with us have peace,
Or els shee is destroyed without lees.
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will never ythee:
For destroyed it is, and as in cheeffe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be costed and menged well
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle.
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders draped is,
And ever hath bee, that men have minde of this:
And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,
It is of little value, trust unto mee,
With English wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
If these two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought
That in the narrowe see it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the fumose wine,
Ner into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agoe.
For the little land of Flanders is
But a staple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemish Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in substance
Liven her commons, this is her governance,
Without wich they may not live at ease.
Thus must hem sterve, or with us must have peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal. The second Chapter.

The Marchandy also of Portugal
By divers lands turne into sale.
Portugalers with us have trouth in hand:
Whose Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee English passen into their countrees.
Her land hath wine, Osey, Ware, and Graine,
Figges, Reysins, Hony and Cordoweyne:
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and such Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders passe for by,
They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,
For supporting of our cruell enemies,
That is to say Flemings with her gyle:
For changeable they are in little while.
Then I conclude by reasons many moe,
If we suffred neither friend nor foe,
What so enemies, and so supporting
Passe for by us in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cause
Of our hindring, if reson lede this clause:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to us sought,
And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Christianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine, with her Rovers on the sea. The third Chapter.

Furthermore to write I am faine
Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,
Salt, and wine, crest cloth and canvas.
And the land of Flaunders sickerly
Is the staple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not passe away
But by the coast of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who so trueth lovis,
Are the greatest rovers and the greatest theevis,
That have bene in the sea many one yeere:
That our Marchants have bought full dere.
For they have tooke notable goods of ours,
On this side see, these false pelours

Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Wich to their Duke none obeysance will bere:
With such colours wee have bee hindred sore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they have bene in divers coasts many
Of our England, more then rehearse can I:
In Norfolke coastes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and slaine by many a rowte:
And they have also ransomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of bost have run her sowne:
Wich hath bin ruth unto this Realme and shame:
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of easie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne.

Here bring I in a storie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke unto mee well written in a scrowe:
That I have commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone.
But when noble King Edward the thrid
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner gelosie
To his Marchants and loved them hartily.
He feld the weyes to rule well the see,
Whereby Marchants might have prosperitee.
That for Harflew Houndflew did he maken;
And great werre that time were undertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At last to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Upon the wich made with convencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But soone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee spedde never the better for truce sake.
They lost her good, her navy and spending:
But their complaint came unto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,
And complained that such harme was hent;
By convention and peace made so refused:
Wich Duke sent againe, and him excused,

Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,
And Sainct Malo would never a dell
Be subject unto his governance,
Nor be under his obeysance:
And so they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte set a judgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long advise
To fortifie anon he did devise
Of English Townes three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gave hem helpe and notable puisance
With insistence set them in governance
Upon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Those good sea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.
And efte the Duke, an ensample wise,
Wrote to the king as he first did devise,
Him excusing: But our men wood
With great power passed over the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,
And had ny destroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should have lost all his native Countrie,
He undertooke by suretie true not false,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne.
The Duke hymselfe for all did undertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:
So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

He made a statute for Lombards in this land,
That they should in noe wise take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of such appreiffe
Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Of the commodities of Scotland and draping of her wolles in Flanders. The fourth Chapiter.

Moreover of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleese.
And all these must passe by us away
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.
And all her woolle was draped for to sell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell;
Which my Lord of Glocester with ire
For her falshed set upon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could never drape her wooll for any thing,
But if they had English woll withall.
Our goodly wooll which is so generall
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other costes, this sentence is not false:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it upon you,
I have this learned ye wot well where and howe:
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders sekerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,
And halfe her shippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:
Thus most rude ware are in her chevesance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemish land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee should right soone have peace for all her bosts,
For they must needes passe by our English costs.

Of the commodities of Pruce, and High Dutch men, and Easterlings. The fifth Chapitle.

Nowe goe foorth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people have such use,
That is to say, High Duch men of Pruse,
And Easterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.
For they bring in the substance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.

Yee have heard that two Flemings togider
Will undertake or they goe any whither,
Or they rise once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: so sore they hall and pull.
Under the board they pissen as they sit:
This commeth of covenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked
To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might trusse, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed fast,
My Lord of Glocester made hem so agast
With his comming, and sought hem in her land,
And brent and slowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stere,
They fled to mewe, they durst no more appeare,
Rebuked sore for ever so shamefully,
Unto her utter everlasting villanie.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruse ybrought
Into Flanders, as loved and farre ysought;
Osmond, Copper, Bow-staves, Steele, and Wexe,
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe:
And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canvas,
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among these things dere,
In common loven best Bakon and Beere.
Also Pruse men maken her adventure
Of Plate of silver of wedges good and sure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:
Which is increase full great unto their land,
And they bene laden, I understand,
With wollen cloth all maner of colours
By dyers crafted full divers, that ben ours.
And they adventure full greatly unto the Bay,
for salt that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:
They should not passe our streemes withouten leve,
It would not be, but if we should hem greve.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.

The Genuois comen in sundry wises
Into this land with divers marchandises
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
They bring with them, and of crood great plentee,
Woll Oyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they adventure, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
That is their chefe staple sekerly:
And if they would be our full enemies,
They should not passe our stremes with marchandise.

The commodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their Gallees. Chap. 7.

The great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All spicery and of grossers ware:
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Japes, and marmusets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little have avayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is wastable
Might be forborne for dere and deceivable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are such commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practise both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded sure,
Which that we gleder with our English cure:
That we should have no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al so speedefull,
That growen here, as those things sayd.
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.

And yef they should except be any thing
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
Let him better search experience.
In this matter I will not ferther prease,
Who so not beleeveth, let him leave and cease.
Thus these galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence our best chaffare:
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I sayd before,
Out of this lond worst might be forbore,
For ech other land of necessitie
Have great neede to buy some of them three:
And we receive of hem into this coste
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loste.
And would Jesus, that our Lordis wold
Consider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that have experience,
That might the yonge exhort to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to us, unto our great grievance,
Of such lands, and of such nations:
As experte men know by probations,
By writings as discovered our counsailes,
And false colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies; that doth us hindering
Unto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:
As wise men have shewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite.

Also they bere the gold out of this land,
And sucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,
So minisheth our commoditee.
Now wol ye here how they in Cotteswold
Were wont to borrow or they shold be sold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ship this marchandie:
Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then utterne there the chaffare by the peise,
And lightly als there they make her reise.
And when the goods beene at Venice sold,

Then to carie her change they this money have,
They will it profer, their subtiltie to save,
To English marchants to yeve it out by eschange
To be payed againe they make not strange,
At the receiving and sight of a letter,
Here in England, seeming for the better,
by foure pence lesse in the noble round:
That is twelve pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol have of payment
A full moneth, than must him needes assent
To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine
In the English pound; as eft soone againe,
For two moneths twelve pence must he pay.
In the English pound what is that to say,
But shillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when English marchants have content
This eschange in England of assent,
That these sayd Venecians have in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold soone
Over the see into Flanders againe:
And thus they live in Flanders, sooth to saine,
And in London with such chevisance,
That men call usury, to our losse and hinderance.

Another example of deceite.

Now lesten well how they made us a valeys
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they should make payment.
And sometime als two yere and two yeare.
This was fayre love: but yet will ye heare,
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And sell it fast for ready money in hand.
For fifty pounds of money of losse they wold not wond
In a thousand pound, and live thereby
Till the day of payment easily,
Come againe in exchange: making
Full like usury, as men make undertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thousand pound
Was well content, they should have chaffare sound
If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receive againe three thousand pound in woll.

In Cotteswold also they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them list with freedome and franchise,
More then we English may gitten many wise.
But would God that without lenger delayes
These galees were unfraught in fortie dayes,
And in fortie dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to oste, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right soe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worship wold fall to English wit?
What profite also to our marchandie
Which wold of nede be cherished hertilie?
For I would witte, why now our navie fayleth,
When manie a foe us at our doore assayleth.
Now in these dayes, that if there come a nede,
What navie should we have it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours:
Which when they had their marchants destroyed,
To poverty they fell, thus were they noyed:
And so they stand at mischiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne
Of marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;
That load sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet lasteth dayly in worthines?
That pen and paper may not me suffice
Him to describe: so high he was of price
Above marchants, that set him one of the best:
I can no more, but God have him in rest.

Now the principal matter.

What reason is it that we should goe to oste
In their countries, & in this English coste

They should not so? but have more liberty
Then we our selves now also motte I thee.
I would to gifts men should take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede.
For this we see well every day at eye,
Gifts and fests stopen our policie.
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee:
But ever we have the worse in this countree.
Therefore let hem unto oste go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them unto oste, and yee shall see
Moch avantage, and moch profite arise,
Moch more then I can write in any wise.

Of our charge and discharge at her marts.

Conceive wel here, that Englishmen at martes
Be discharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily
In the same dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:
To which marts, that English men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
English, and French, Lombards, Jennoyes,
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Irishmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common use then done all other nations:
This have I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they byemore, and fro purse put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the see, shippes should not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thidre stretch:

And so those marts wold full evill thee,
If we manly kept about the see.

Of the commodities of Brabant and Zeland and Henauld and marchandy carried by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

Yet marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand
To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,
And saltfishe als for husband and commons.
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,
And wolles our, that Englishmen hem selles.
And the chaffare that Englishmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by see,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colein, Cameret in substance,
Therefore at marts if there be a restraint,
Men seyne plainely that list no fables paynt,
If Englishmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and losse to her affray:
As though we sent into the land of France
Ten thousand people, men of good puissance,
To werre unto her hindring multifarie,
So ben our English marchants necessarie.
If it be thus assay, and we shall witten
Of men experte, by whom I have this written.
For sayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in shippes thider,
Which Englishmen bye most and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, shame to say,
But Englishmen thider dresse her way.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the sea.

Than I conclude, if never so much by land
Were by carres brought unto their hand,
If well the sea were kept in governance
They should by sea have no deliverance.
Wee should hem stop, and we should hem destroy,
As prisoners we should hem bring to annoy.
And so we should of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,

If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glasse
And also brittle, not thought never abiding;
But when grace shineth soone are we sliding;
We will it not receive in any wise:
That maken lust, envie, and covetise:
Expone me this; and yee shall sooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then shuld worship unto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Majestie:
Liche as the seale the greatest of this land
On the one side hath, as I understand,
A prince riding with his swerd ydraw,
In the other side sitting, soth it is in saw,
Betokening good rule and punishing
In very deede of England by the king.
And it is so, God blessed mought he bee.
So in likewise I would were on the see
By the Noble, that swerde should have power,
And the ships on the sea about us here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Ivie
Shewe a taverne winelesse, also thrive I?
If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.
Then Hankin lyons shuld not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Unto our shame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to shend the old English fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of covetise;
With false colours cast beforn our eyes?
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea unto our great avayle,
And winne hem goods, and have up the sayle,
And on our enimies their lives to impart,
So that they might their prises well departe,
As reson wold, justice and equitie;
To make this land have lordship of the sea.
Then shall Lombards and other fained friends
Make their chalenges by colour false offends,
And say their chaffare in the shippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amisse.

For thus may al that men have bought to sore,
Ben soone excused, and saved by false colour.
Beware ye men that bere the great in hand
That they destroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And silke, and other: say yee not this soth is?
But if we had very experience
That they take meede with privie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleasance,
Whereby stopped should be good governance:
And if it were as yee say to mee,
Than wold I say, alas cupiditie,
That they that have her lives put in drede,
Shalbe soone out of winning, all for meed,
And lose her costes, and brought to poverty,
That they shall never have lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and excusers of folkes goods.

For this colour that must be sayd alofte
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our seamen wol by many wise
Spoile our friends in steede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counsayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends should from enimies be knowe,
Our enimies taken and our friends spared:
The remedy of hem must be declared.
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,
For if ought be spoken, wot yee well,
We have the strokes, and enemies have the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the finning.
We live in lust and bide in covetise:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,
And policie that wee have on the sea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Irish: with an incident of Wales. Chap. 9.

I cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,

Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
Hertes Hides, and other of Venerie.
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Foxe, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe us to keepe the sea,
Because the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus also Hyberniæ,
Old possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men have cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne us: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they have havens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford, and costes many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better havens, ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?
For all so much as I can understand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and marvailous.
For of silver and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.
For they are rude and can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,
As in London saith a Juellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to us here,
Whereof was fyned mettal goode and clene,
As they touch, no better could be seene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will answere at last judgement,
That for slought and for racheshede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boterasse and a post,

Under England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due unto the king.
But I have pittie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with avisement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from us,
But if thou helpe, thou Jesu gracious,
And give us grace al slought to leve beside.
For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatise I caste to write
Made al onely for that soile and site,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Irish wirlinge
Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueste for our last puissance,
And hinder us by other lands alliance.
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Irish so much of ground have gotten
There upon us, as likenesse may be
Like as England to sheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Irish have wonne on us unable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true comparison.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee lost, as Christ Jesu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,
For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And so have enemies environ round about.
I beseech God, that some prayers devout
Mutt let the said apparance probable
Thus disposed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I see
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee.
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men say, in all Christendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee semeth that right were and no wrong,

To get the lande: and it were piteous
To us to lese this high name Dominus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld have the ground obeysant wilde and tame.
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground subject to the Lord.
And that it is possible to bee subject,
Unto the king wel shal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of spake.
I trowe reson al this wol undertake.
And I knowe wel howe it stante,
Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is governance.
For so minisheth parties of our puissance,
In that land that wee lese every yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.
I herd a man speake to mee full late.
Which was a lord of full great estate;
Than expense of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puissance
This said ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet because England might not forbere
These said expenses gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred up here,
Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,
In one sole yeere to set us all at reste.
And how soone wolde this be paied ageyne:
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:
I wol declare, who so luste to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But covetise, and singularitie
Of owne profite, envie, crueltie,
Hath doon us harme, and doe us every day,
And musters made that shame is to say:
Our money spent al to litle availe,
And our enimies so greatly doone prevaile,
That what harme may fall and overthwerte
I may unneth write more for sore of herte.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

Beware of Wales, Christ Jesu mutt us keepe,
That it make not our childers childe to weepe,
Ne us also, so if it goe his way,
By unwarenes: seth that many a day

Men have bee ferde of her rebellion,
By great tokens and ostentation:
Seche the meanes with a discrete avise,
And helpe that they rudely not arise
For to rebell, that Christ it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee have neede,
Unfainingly, unfeyning and unfeynt,
That conscience for slought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde, for harme that may ben used,
Or afore God mutte yee ben accused.

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island, and keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow sea, with an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.

Of Island to write is litle nede,
Save of Stock-fish: Yet forsooth in deed
Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,
Men have practised by nedle and by stone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelve yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old
Of Scarborough unto the costes cold.
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware,
That moch losse for unfreyght they bare:
Island might not make hem to bee fraught
Unto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commoditees
For which neede is well to kepe the seas:
Este and Weste, South and North they bee.
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,
Betweene Dover and Caleis: and as thus
that foes passe none without good will of us:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our costis and Caleis in our strength.

An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.

And for the love of God, and of his blisse
Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.
See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for slought so great offence,
But that redressed it bee for any thing:
Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing.

For litle wenith the foole who so might chese
What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:
What wo it were for all this English ground.
Which wel conceived the Emperour Sigismound,
That of all joyes made it one of the moste,
That Caleis was subject unto English coste.
Him thought it was a jewel most of all,
And so the same in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I cast to write within a litle scrowe,
Like as I have done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.
Loke how hard it was at the first to get;
And by my counsell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee lese it with shame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew cried upon, and Rone,
That they were likely for shought to be gone;
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right so.
Farewell Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can say no better:
My soule discharge I by this present letter.

After the Chapitles of commodities of divers lands, sheweth the conclusion of keeping of the sea environ, by a storie of King Edgar and two incidents of King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. Chap. II.

Nowe see we well then that this round see
To our Noble by pariformitee
Under the ship shewed there the sayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With swerd drawen bright and extent
For to chastise enimies violent;
Should be lord of the sea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Christianitee
Master and lord environ of the see:
All living men such a prince to dreed,
Of such a regne to bee aferd indeed.

Thus prove I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a Chronicle anon shalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into English, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O most marveilous
Prince living, wittie, and chevalerous:
So good that none of his predecessours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.
Hee was fortunate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.
Of English kings was none so commendable:
To English men no lesse memorable,
Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the see without;
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boystrous windes put see men into fere;
Within his land about by all provinces
Hee passed through, perceiving his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppressour, and who to povertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by mischiefe and by strife
With over leding and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aspied: and his ministers als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were execute, and who durst take in hand
To disobey his statutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of these he made subtile investigation
Of his owne espie, and other mens relation.
Among other was his great busines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,

And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppression.
Thus was hee wont in this Winter tide
On such enforchise busily to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King.
Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire
Of lusty season, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie shippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a store:
Full three thousand and sixe hundred also
Stately inough on our sea to goe.
The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boysteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee have in wonne
And in custome to be ful redie soone,
With multitude of men of good array
And instruments of werre of best assay.
Who could hem well in any wise descrive?
It were not light for eny man alive.
Thus he and his would enter shippes great
Habiliments having and the fleete
Of See werres, that joyfull was to see
Such a navie and Lord of Majestee,
There present in person hem among
To saile and rowe environ all along,
So regal liche about the English isle;
To all strangers terrours and perile.
Whose fame went about in all the world stout,
Unto great fere of all that be without,
And exercise to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree.
For courage of nede must have exercise,
Thus occupied for esshewin of vice.
This knew the king that policie espied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that environ the see
Should bene our subjects unto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worship and for profite also
To defend his land fro every foo.
That worthy king I leve, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:

Saffe onely this I may not passe away,
A worde of mighty strength till that I say,
That graunted him God such worship here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That sometime at his great festivitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there present,
And many Lords came thider by assent,
To his worship: but in a certaine day
Hee bad shippes to bee redie of aray:
For to visit Saint Johns Church hee list
Rowing unto the good holie Baptist,
Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ships right godly to sights:
And for himselfe and eight kings moo
Subject to him hee made kepe one of thoo,
A good shippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they sit;
And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,
At ore hales, as I understand,
And he himselfe at the shippe behinde
As steris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well say,
Was not seene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in see, that I may not suffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
That king Edgar had upon the see.

An incident of the Lord of the sea King Edward the third.

Of king Edward I passe and his prowes
On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,
Howe it lasted not yeeres many agoe,
After the battell of Crecye was ydoe:
Howe it was closed environ about,
Olde men sawe it, which liven, this is no doubt.
Old Knights say that the Duke of Burgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
Of ship on see made no besieging there,
For want of shippes that durst not come for feare.
It was nothing besieged by the see:
Thus call they it no siege for honestee.

Gonnes assailed, but assault was there none,
No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping have knights ferre in age,
Expert through age of this maner language.
But king Edward made a siege royall,
And wanne the towne: and in especiall
The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whose time was no navie on the see
That might withstand his majestie.
Battell of Scluse yee may rede every day,
Howe it was done I leve and goe my way:
It was so late done that yee it knowe,
In comparison within a litle throwe:
For which to God give we honour and glorie;
For Lord of see the king was with victorie.

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the time of the marveilous werriour and victorious Prince, King Henrie the fifth, and of his great shippes.

And if I should conclude all by the King
Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which passed other great ships of all the commons;
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost,
And other moe, which as nowe bee lost.
What hope ye was the kings great intent
Of thoo shippes, and what in minde hee meant?
It was not ellis, but that hee cast to bee
Lorde round about environ of the see.
And when Harflew had her siege about,
There came caracks horrible great and stoute
In the narrow see willing to abide,
To stoppe us there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.
This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne;
That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.
There was present the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell otherwise then I:
Aske him, and witte; I passe foorth hastily.

What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage, of wisedome, and prudence?
Provision, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, justice, and agilitee,
Discretion, subtile avisednesse,
Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthinesse:
Science, prowesse, devotion, equitie,
Of most estate, with his magnanimitie
Liche to Edgar, and the saide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on live a man more victorious,
And in so short time prince so marveilous?
By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,
To speake of him I stony in my witte.
Thus here I leave the king with his noblesse,
Henry the fift, with whom all my processe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of sea keeping, entending victorie
I leave endly: for about in the see
No Prince was of better strenuitee.
And if he had to this time lived here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:
His great ships should have ben put in preefe,
Unto the ende that he ment of in cheefe,
For doubt it not but that he would have bee
Lord and master about the round see:
And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne us good, and wisely brought it thence:
That no passage should be without danger,
And his licence on see to move and sterre.

Of unitie, shewing of our keeping of the see: with an endly or finall processe of peace by authoritie. Chap. 12.

Now than for love of Christ, and of his joy,
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
Take heart and witte, and set a governance,
Set many wits withouten variance,
To one accord and unanimitee.
Put to good will for to keepe the see,
First for worship and profite also,
And to rebuke of eche evill willed foe.
Thus shall worship and riches to us long.
Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong,
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,

To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:
For which they must dresse hem to peace in haste,
Or ellis their thrift to standen, and to waste.
As this processe hath proved by and by
All by reason and expert policy;
And by stories which proved well this parte:
Or ellis I will my life put in jeoparte,
But many londs would seche her peace for nede,
The see wel kept: it must bee doo for drede.
Thus must Flanders for nede have unitee
And peace with us: it will non other bee,
Within short while: and ambassadours
Would bene here soone to treate for their succours.
This unitee is to God pleasance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,
And power causeth peace finally.
Kept than the sea about in speciall,
Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall environ were the see.
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt,
And thus should every lond one with another
Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
And live togither werrelesse in unitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
Without strife, debate and variance.
Which peace men should enserche with businesse,
And knit it saddely holding in holinesse.
The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,
Bee yee busie for to keepe unitee
Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedeful to all withouten lese.
The Prophet biddeth us peace for to enquire
To pursue it, this is holy desire.
Our Lord Jesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.
For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.
God give us grace, the weyes for to keepe

Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe
In shame of sinne: that our verry foo
Might be to us convers, and turned so.
For in the Proverbs is a text to this purpose
Plaine inough without any glose:
When mens weyes please unto our Lord,
It shall convert and bring to accord
Mans enemies unto peace verray,
In unitie, to live to Goddis pay,
With unitie, peace, rest and charitie.
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heaven, and styed up with our nature,
Or hee ascended, he yave to us cure,
And left with us peace, ageyne striffe and debate,
Mote give us peace, so well irradicate
Here in this world: that after all this feste
Wee may have peace in the land of beheste,
Jerusalem, which of peace is the sight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There glorified in rest with his tuition,
The Deitie to see with full fruition:
Hee second person in divinenesse is,
Who us assume, and bring us to the blis. Amen.

Here endeth the true processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea environ: shewing what profit and salvation, with worship commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

Goe furth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
Appearing ever with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,
In opposaile and cherishing the advance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou hast fro trought by full experience
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;
That seth it is soth in verry fayth,
That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee overseene, and verely he saith
That thou art true, and thus hee doeth record,
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all over in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right.
Explicit libellus de Politia conservativa maris.

A large Charter granted by K. Edward the 4 in the second yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England resident especially in the Netherland, for their chusing of a master and governor among themselves, which governement was first appointed unto one William Obray: with expresse mention, what authoritie he should have.

Edward by the grace of God king of France, & of England, & lord of Ireland, to al those which shal see or heare these letters, sendeth greeting, & good wil. Know ye, that whereas we have understood, as well by the report of our loving and faithfull Counsellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, discords, annoyes, dissentions, & damages, have heretofore bene done, moved, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our subjects of our realmes of France & England, & our lordships of Ireland and Wales, & of other our dominions, seigneuries, and territories, because that good discretion and authority hath not bin observed among our saide subjects, which abide, frequent, converse, remain, inhabit, & passe, aswel by sea as by land, into ye parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and divers other countreis & seigneuries belonging aswell to the high and mighty prince, our most deere and loving cousin ye Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedience & dominion of other lords, which are in friendship, alliance, & good wil with us: and that it is to be doubted that through the saide inconvenience and occasion, many discommodities may ensue & fal out in time to come (which God forbid) unles we should provide convenient remedie in this behalfe for our subjects aforesaid: wherefore we desiring most effectually and heartily to avoide the mischiefe of the saide inconveniences & to provide convenient remedy for the same, to the end that the said common marchants and mariners and others our subjects of our said realms & dominions, which at this present & hereafter shal haunt and frequent ye said countreis, may be justly & lawfully ruled, governed, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis aforesaid, and that equity, reason, & justice may be ministred unto them and every of them, according as the cases shal

require, we being wel assured and having ful confidence, in the discretion, faithfulnes, wisdome, experience, & good diligence of our most deare & wellbeloved subject Will. Obray our servant, & in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable services, which he hath done us in our realm & among our subjects in times past, & hoping that he wil do also hereafter, we have made, ordained, constituted, committed, and established, and by the tenour of these presents, of our special grace, ful power, & authority royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and establish, (during our pleasure) to be governor, judge, warden of justice, and the appurtenances & appendances therof, which we have or may have over our said common subjects the marchants travailing hereafter as wel by sea as by land, and abiding in the said countries of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreis beyond the sea, as is aforesaide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emoluments heretofore accustomed, & as the said Will. Obray at other times hath had and received of our said subjects, when he had, used, and exercised the said office of governor, and also with other such rights and profits, as hereafter shal more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we have given him, and by these presents do give him, as much as in us lieth, during our pleasure, ful power, authority, and special commandement, to governe, rule, and cause to be governed and ruled with good justice by himselfe, or by his sufficient lieuetenants or deputies, all and every our foresaid subjects the common marchants & mariners comming, remaining, frequenting, passing, & repairing from henceforth into the said countreis of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreyes beyond the sea, as it is said, and to keep and cause to be kept, to exercise and maintein, for us and in our place, the said office of governour, and to doe all such things which a faithfull governour ought to do, and to take knowledge and administration of the causes of the said common marchants and mariners, our subjects, and of every of them, and of their causes and quarels moved, or hereafter to be moved in the countreis aforesaid, or within the limits & borders therof, and to doe them full & speedy justice. And to reforme, cause reformation, governe, appease, and pacifie all contentions, discords, questions, or debates between those our said subjects

moved, or to be moved: and to right, redresse, repaire, restore, and amend all transgressions, domages, enterprises, outrages, violences and injuries committed, or to be committed: and likewise to require, to aske, demand, and receive, restitutions, reparations, restaurations, and amends of our said subjects the common marchants & mariners, or of their factors in the countreis aforesaid. And that, whensoever and as often as it shal please the said governor or his deputies, they may in some convenient and honest place within the said countreis make or cause to be made, somon, and hold in our name jurisdictions, courts, and assemblies: and in our said name take administration and knowledge of causes, as it is aforesaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements, mediatours, and umpires, to judge, to make decrees, and to minister justice, to ordaine, appoint, censure, and constraine our saide subjects to sweare and take all kind of oathes, which order of justice and custome require and affoorde, and to enjoy our authoritie, and to use, execute and accomplish, by way of equitie and justice, and to doe, or cause to be done all execution and exercise of law and justice; and to ordain, appoint, & establish sixe sergeants or under, to doe the executions & arrests of our said court, by the commandement of the said governour or of his deputies, or at the request of the partie or otherwise, according as the case shall require by their advise, and to discharge and displace the said sergeants, as shall seeme good unto him, as often and whensoever as it shall please him, and change them, and appoint and set others in their roomes, and to require returne and answere of the court, whensoever need shal be, of all causes, quarels, and businesses in regard of the said office belonging unto us and to our said subjects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the case shall permit and require: and generally and specially to doe as much for us and in our stead, in the cases before mentioned, and which hereafter shalbe declared, as we could doe or cause to be done, could say or require, if we were there present in our owne person. Moreover wee will, and by the tenour of these presents wee give and graunt unto the saide governour, and to our saide subjects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whensoever it please them, they may meet and assemble in

some honest and convenient place, and by the consent of the saide governour to choose and appoynt among them at their pleasure, freely and without danger, certaine sufficient and fit persons to the number of twelve or under, which we wil have to be named Justicers, unto the which Justicers so elected by the saide governour and our saide subjects, as it is said, and to everie of them, we give and graunt especiall power and authoritie to sitte and assist in court, with the said governour or his lieutenants, for their aide and assistance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our said subjects their suites, pleas, and the state of their causes and quarels whatsoever moved or to be moved unto the ende of their cause, and at the request of the saide governour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to say, propound, and plainely to expresse and declare their opinions, according to right and conscience, upon the causes brought before them and by the parties uttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counsell and advise the saide governour or his lieutenants, to order and censure, judge and determine, and ende the same justly and equally, according as the case shall permit and require. And furthermore we wil, that all just and reasonable statutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions made and established, or to be made and established, in the countreys aforesaide, by the consent of the said governour, and of the said Justicers, shalbe corrected, amended, and made, as they shall see to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better government of the estate of the common marchants and mariners our saide subjects, and shalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approved; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approve them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmely and inviolably observed, kept and obeyed. And also, of our farther favour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the consent of our said governour, our said subjects the common marchants and mariners may make and set downe in the said countreis, by their common consent, as often as they shall thinke good for their better government and estate, such just and reasonable lawes, statutes, ordinances, decrees, constitutions, and customes, as they shal thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we command to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, & approved, available, and established. Provided alwaies, that they do not nor seeke any thing

prejudicial to this present power and authoritie given and graunted by us to the saide governour, in any poynt or article heerein comprised, by any meanes or way whatsoever: in which case if they shoulde doe any thing, or ought should happen, we wil that it shal take no place, force, vigour, strength, nor vertue: neither that it shalbe of any effect, but it shalbe abolished, disanulled, and utterly frustrate; and as abolished, disanulled, and utterly frustrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the same. And so to doe, and put in execution in our name, we have and doe give full and absolute power, & speciall authority to our said servant William Obray, & to his said lieutenants And likewise, to the end that ye course of marchandise may be kept in good estate, and that by order of justice a firme and constant rule may be set downe among those our said subjects and marchants, we have ordained and do ordaine, have consented & doe consent, and by these presents have given & do give ful power & especiall authority to our said servant Will. Obray governour aforesaid, that at al time and times when he shal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuse, and appoint, in the countreis aforesaid, such ministers, officers, and servitours as hereafter shalbe named, and such others as he shal think necessary, and to discharge them, and to change them, & set others in their roomes, at his good will and pleasure, unto such a number as he shall thinke good and reasonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he shal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our said subjects and others with whom they shal have to do or to deale in the foresaid countreis: and also as many alnagers to alner and measure al kinds of marchandises which they shal buy or sel by the yard: and also as many weighers to weigh the marchandise which shalbe sold or bought by weight: and also so many folders to fold their clothes, and so many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baskets, and other things needefull for the defence & preservation of their marchandize. Al which ministers, officers, and servitors, so chosen, elected, charged, admitted, and established by the saide governour, as is saide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances upon the said marchants, according to the

custome of the said countreis, and as they have bene accustomed to take of the said marchants before these presents by us given and graunted. And hereupon we have given and doe give expresse charge and commandement by us and in our names to all our said subjects common marchants and mariners, and to every of them which shall frequent, come, remaine, passe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis aforesaid, that they shall not make contract or bargaine, sell or buy, nor shall not cause any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the said countreis sell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandises, secretley nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatsoever, with any person or persons, of what estate, countrey, or condition soever they be, without he hath some of the said brokers at the bargain making, to present, report, and to testifie the said contracts or bargains before the said governor or others, if need require, and strife or contention should grow therof betweene them: nor to packe or cause to be packed any goods or marchandises belonging unto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, chests, maunds, dryfats, or rowles, without having some deputy present thereat: nor to take or cause to be taken or set on worke in the said countreis, any other brokers, alnagers, weighers, folders, or packers, then the aforesaid so chosen, admitted, established, and ordained by the saide governor, & hereto authorized in our name, as it is said, under paine of falling into, and incurring of our displeasure, and of forfeiture, and confiscation of all such goods, wares, and marchandises, which shalbe found to have passed by other hands or order, then that or those which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiscations shall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our saide subjects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland; the other fourth part to us, & our use; the third fourth part to our said cousin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the saide goods shall be found; and the fourth fourth part to him or them, which shall discover, detect, or finde out the saide fraude. And also that none of our said subjects shall unlade or cause to be unladen, under any colour nor otherwise, nor unpacke, in the countreis abovesaide, no kind of wares, goods, nor

marchandises whatsoever, which they shall bring or cause to bee brought into the countreyes aforesaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeysance, without first and beforehand they make the governour or his deputies acquainted with their arrivall, and crave leave, and deliver, shewe, and declare their cockets, that it may duely appeare, that the saide goods and marchandises have truly and lawfully payde unto us our rights and customes, and not to unpacke them but in the presence of the saide governour, his lieutenants or deputies, upon paine of forfaiture, and confiscation of the saide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foresaide article. And if it bee found by the visitation of the saide governor, his lieuetenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandises whatsoever be arrived and discharged in the countreis aforesaid, belonging to our saide subjectes, not lawfully customed and acquited towarde us of our right and custome, for which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet, as is metioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will, we ordaine, and we grant, that the sayd governour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze upon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiscate and forfeit the same, distributing the same into foure parts in maner aforesayd. And also wee will, that every one of the sayd packes, fardels, baskets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, roules, and other furnitures and geare, wherein the sayd marchandises shalbe packed, to be sent out of the said countreis, shall not be laden upon ships, carts, nor horses, to come into our dominion, without being first sealed with a seale ordayned by us and given by the sayd governour, upon paine to be forfayted, applyed, and confiscated to us and into our hand, if they be found unsigned and not sealed with the seale. And for every piece of marchandise which shall be sealed with the sayd seale, they shall pay to the sayd sealer two pence of grosse money of Flanders, which shall goe to the profite of the sayd governour. And forasmuch as according to right and conscience, we ought not to use the labour, travels, nor service of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reason and equity, especially when we doe appoint any person or persons to doe or cause to be done so great travels, labours, busines, and executions, as these which are contayned in this present charter, aswell for

the benefit and profit of us and our selves, as for the holesome, perfect, & good government of our sayd subjects : we by the good advise and deliberation of the sayd lords of our privie counsell, have granted and given, and as before, doe grant and give, of our sayd grace, to the sayd William Obray our sayd servant and governour abovenamed, during our pleasure, for part of his wages and fee of the sayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liver of grosse money of Flanders, upon al and singuler the goods, wares and marchandises of our sayd subjects frequenting the sayd countreis, to be levyed, gathered, received, and payed unto the sayd William Obray, or to his deputies, upon the sayd wares and marchandises belonging unto our sayd subjects buying and selling, or which they shall cause to sell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys abovesaid, aswell of the goods and marchandises which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the sayd countries, as of all other goods which they shall lade and carie, or cause to bee caried and conveyed out of those countreis into our dominion or elsewhere into any other part whatsoever. And to cause the same to be gathered, received, leavied and payed, we have given, and by these presents doe give full power and speciall authoritie unto the sayd William Obray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforesayd, to leavy, gather, and cause to bee leavied and received the sayd money, in forme and maner above mentioned, to his profite and use, during our pleasure : and to enjoy and use the same as his proper goods, without any contradiction, constraining and arresting if neede bee, as well on land, as on the water, our said subjects, their sayd goods, and every of them, by way of law and justice, and to cause them to yeelde and pay the sayd money, upon the said goods and marchandises, as is aforesayd. For such is our pleasure, and so will we have it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleasure. And also we will that the sayd William Obray, over and above that which is sayd, shall take, gather, and receive of our sayd subjects from henceforth yearely, during our pleasure, all such and like wages and profits, as he had and received of our sayd subjects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exercised the said office of governour, without diminishing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithstanding

this present augmentation made, increased, and done unto him, of our grace and favour: and that hee shall gather, take, and receive the same in such forme and manner, as the other money above mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the sayd William Obray may have and take possession, season, and enterance of the said office of governour in our name we have and doe place him, by the delivery of these presents, in possession, season, and entrance of the said office, and of the rights, profits, stipends, wages, and moneis aforesayd, to begin to exercise the sayd office of governour in our name, the first day of May next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the sayd William Obray to hold and exercise, practise and use the same, during our pleasure, with the sayd wages, moneys, rights, and profites above mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and singular our subjects the common marchants and mariners, which shall be contrary, rebellious, and disobedient to the said governour so ordayned by us, to his said lieutenants, to the sayd justicers so chosen, or to any of them, or to any of the statutes, lawes, decrees, sentences, ordinances, and customes, offices, gifts, and grants abovesayd, let them grievously be punished by the sayd governour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the cases. We doe sommon, commaund, straitly and expresly enjoine by these presents all and every our saide subjects, that unto the sayd governour so by us ordained, to his lieutenants, attorneis, or deputies, and also to the said justicers, officers, and ministers, in all and everie the things aforesaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our said ordinances, their government and rule, the circumstances and dependances theron that they give their attendance, counsayle, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficulty, surely, safely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or suffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any disturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatsoever: but rather if any thing bee done unto them contrary and to the prejudice of these presents, they shall remove and cause the same to be remooved, and that which shall be hindered they shall set at free deliverance, upon payne to fall into and to incurre our high displeasure. For such is our pleasure

and so will wee have it, notwithstanding anie letters falsely crept in, obtayned, or to be obtayned contrary hereunto. And you our subjects, the common marchants and mariners, so behave your selves, that you may receive commendation of us for your good obedience, knowing that such as shall be found doing or to have done the contrary, we will see them so punished without redemption, that they shall bee an example to all rebellious persons. We pray and most instantly require in the ayde of equitie, all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, aswell princes and potentates, as their justicers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commissaries, and subjects, and every of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchsafe, and that it would please them to give, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, assistance, and prisons if neede require, to our sayd governour, his lieutenants, commissaries, deputies, justicers, & others our officers and ministers aforesayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may please them herein to doe so much, that we may have occasion to thanke them, and to accompt our selves beholding for the same: and as they would that we should do for them in the like matter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witnesse whereof we have caused these our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our selves at Westminster, the sixteenth of April, in the second yere our reigne.

A declaration of the Indies and lands discovered, and subdued unto the Emperour, and the king of Portingal: And also of other partes of the Indies and rich countries to be discovered, which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the citie of Sivil in Spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

Experience prooveth that naturally all princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marveiled, to see them every day procure the same, not regarding any cost, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be marvelled, if there be any prince content to live quiet with his owne dominions. For surely the people

would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and spirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the desires of Princes have bene so fervent to obtaine their purpose, that they have adventured and prooved things to mans conjecture impossible, the which they have made possible, and also things difficult have made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpose, have in maner turned up and downe the whole world so many times, that the people inhabiting in the farthest regions of the Occident have pursued with great distresse, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Orient: and in likewise those people of the said parts of the Orient have had no lesse labour and desire to enter and penetrate into the farthest land of the Occident, and so following their purchase have not ceased untill they could passe no farther by reason of the great seas.

This naturall inclination is cause, that scarsely it may be said, there is any kingdome stable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath provided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and set it in so fruitfull a place, and within such limites, that it should seeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foresayd desire. One speciall cause is, for that it is compassed with the Sea: by reason therof it seemes, this notwithstanding, their desires and noble courages have beene most commonly like unto others: and with marveilous great labours, costes and perils, they have traveiled and passed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but also with them of farre countries, and so have woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victory and glory. And also now of late your Grace having like courage and desire, and not without just cause, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of the French king, which at that present he restrained, your Grace in person passed with a great power into France, putting your Graces person to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriously you had conquered the sayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your adversary had not reconciled himselfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and so promised truely to pay tribute

then due, & fulfill your request in all things, and also desired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuse.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire, and also perceiving that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your subjects, amplifie and inrich this your sayd Realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifest this secret unto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath beene hid: which is, that with a small number of ships there may bee discovered divers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subjectes infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to discover, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three parts are discovered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: so that by this part of the Orient & Occident, they have compassed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discovered a great part of the same Seas and coastes by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discovered the sayd North parts, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also for that you have already taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, & found not the commodity thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now provided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved, that then were cause that your Graces desire tooke no full effect, which is, the courses to be changed, & followed the foresaid new courses. And concerning the mariners, shippes, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better then hitherto. By reason wherof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. Surely

the cost herein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much lesse, yea nothing at all, where so great honour and glory is hoped for: and considering well the courses, truely the danger & way is shorter to us, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by evident reasons appereth.

And now to declare something of the commodity and utilitie of this Navigation and discoverie: it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impossible to passe, that those same Seas be navigable and without anie such danger, but that shippes may passe and have in them perpetuall clerenesse of the day without any darkenesse of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the navigants, to see at all times round about them, as well the safegards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leese the most part of every foure and twentie houres the said light, and goe in darkenesse groping their way, I thinke there is none so ignorant but perceiveth this more plainely, then it can be expressed. Yea what a vantage shal your Graces subjects have also by this light to discover the strange lands, countries, and coastes? For if they that be discovered, to saile by them in darkenesse is with great danger, much more then the coastes not discovered be daungerous to travell by night or in darkenesse. Yet these dangers or darkenesse hath not letted the Spanyards and Portingals and other, to discover many unknowen Realmes to their great perill. Which considered (and that your Graces subjects may have the same light) it will seeme your Graces subjects to be without activity or courage, in leaving to doe this glorious and noble enterprise. For they being past this litle way which they named so dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they passe the Pole) it is cleere, that from thence foorth the seas and landes are as temperate as in these partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners, to choose whether they will sayle by the coastes, that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being past the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they list.

If they will goe toward the Orient, they shall injoy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the

midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their navigation, following the coasts that returne toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa: and thus they shall compasse the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found land, which of late was discovered by your Graces subjects, untill they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the streight of Magellan to this countrey, and so they compasse also the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be past the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Islands situated between the Tropikes, and under the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall finde there the richest landes and Islands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most: which come out of strange countries, and may returne the same way.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great advantage of the riches, but also your subjects shall not travell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforesayd.

The booke made by the right worshipful M. Robert Thorne in the yeere 1527. in Sivil, to Doctour Ley, Lord ambassadour for king Henry the eight, to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discovered by him and the king of Portingal: and also of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

Right noble and reverend in &c. I have received your letters, and have procured and sent to know of your servant, who, your Lordship wrote, should be sicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and shipt. I cannot judge but that of some contagious sicknesse hee died, so that the owner of the house for

defaming his house would bury him secretly, and not be knowen of it. For such things have often times happened in this countrey.

Also to write unto your Lordshippe of the new trade of Spicery of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Islands are fertile of Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom: and that the said Islands, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamondes, Balasses, Granates, Jacincts, and other stones & pearles, as all other lands, that are under and neere the Equinoctiall. For we see, where nature giveth any thing, she is no nigard. For as with us and other, that are aparted from the said Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Iron, so theirs be Gold, Silver, and Copper. And as our fruits and graines bee Apples, Nuts, and Corne, so theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloves, and other Spices. And as we have Jeat, Amber, Cristall, Jasper, and other like stones, so have they Rubies, Diamonds, Balasses, Saphyres, Jacincts, and other like. And though some say that of such precious mettals, graines, or kind of spices, and precious stones, the abundance and quantity is nothing so great, as our mettals, fruits or stones above rehearsed: yet if it be well considered, how the quantitie of the earth under the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which space is found the sayd Golde, spices and precious stones) is as much in quantity, as almost all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles; it cannot be denied but there is more quantity of the sayd mettals, fruites, spices, and precious stones, then there is of the other mettals and other things before rehearsed. And I see that the preciousnes of these things is measured after the distance that is between us, and the things that we have appetite unto. For in this navigation of the Spicerie was discovered, that these Islands nothing set by golde, but set more by a knife and a nayle of iron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reason, as the thing more necessary for mans service. And I doubt not but to them should be as precious our corne and seedes, if they might have them, as to us their spices: & likewise the pieces of glasse that here we have counterfeited are as precious to them, as to us their stones: which by experience is seene daylie by them that have trade thither. This of the riches of those countries is sufficient.

Touching that your Lordship wrote, whether it may bee profitable to the Emperor or no? it may be without doubt of great profite: if, as the king of Portingal doth, he would become a merchant, and provide shippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of these Islands for himselfe. But other greater businesse withholdeth him from this. But still, as now it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the shippes comming in safetie, there would thither many every yere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and jewels that come from thence the fift part for his custome cleare without any cost. And besides this hee putteth in every flote a certaine quantitie of money, of which hee enjoyeth of the gaines pound and pounds like as other adventurers doe. In a fleete of three shippes and a Caravel that went from this citie armed by the marchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partener have one thousand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the sayd fleete, principally for that two English men, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same shippes, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the navigation of those seas, and there to have informations of many other things, and advise that I desire to knowe especially. Seeing in these quarters are shippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much unlike ours, that they should procure to have the said cards, and learne how they understand them, and especially to know what navigation they have for those Islands Northwards, and Northeastward.

For if from the sayd Islands the sea did extend, without interposition of land, to saile from the North point to the Northeast poynt one thousand seven hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to the New found Islands that we discovered, and so we should be neerer to the sayd Spicerie by almost two thousand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portingal are. And to advise your Lordship whether of these Spiceries of the king of Portingal or the Emperours is neerer, and also of the titles that either of them hath, and howe our New found lands are parted from it, (for that by writing without some demonstration, it were hard to give any declaration of it) I have caused

that your Lordship shall receive herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, shall put your Lordship to more labour to understand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in so litle roome that it cannot be but obscurely set out, that is desired to be seene in it, and also for that I am in this science little expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficulty, it is necessary to declare to your Lordship my intent, with which I trust you shall perceive in this Card part of your desire, if, for that I cannot expresse mine intent, with my declaration I doe not make it more obscure.

First, your Lordship knoweth that the Cosmographers have divided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, under the which is comprehended all the roundnes of the earth: the latitude being divided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to every quarter, which they measure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South starres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right under the North starre the said ninetie degrees: and as much from the sayd line Equinoctiall to the South starre be other ninety degrees. And as much more is also from either of the sayd starres agayne to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to bee round, is soone perceived thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be consumed in the said foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter: so that this latitude is the measure of the worlde from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are also counted other 360, is counted from West to East, or from East to West, as in the Card is set.

The sayd latitude your Lordship may see marked and divided in the ende of this Card on the left hand: so that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coast standeth, take a compasse, and set the one foot of the same in the Equinoctial line right against the said region, & apply the other foote of the compasse to the said region or coast, & then set the sayd compasse at the end of the Card, where the degrees are divided. And the one foote of the compasse standing in the line Equinoctial, the other will shew in the scale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the said region is in. Also the longitude of the world I have set out in the nether part of the Card, conteining also 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptoleme and other Cosmo-

graphers from an headland called Capo Verde, which is over against a little crosse made in the part Occidental, where the division of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the same Capo Verde.

Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordship must take a ruler or a compasse, and set the one foot of the compasse upon the land or coast whose longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compasse to the next part of one of the transversall lines in the Orientall or Occidental part: which done, set the one foot of the compasse in the said transversal line at the end of the nether scale, the scale of longitude, and the other foot sheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordship must understand that this Card, though little, conteineth the universall whole world betwixt two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part descendeth perpendicular upon the 175 degree, & the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whose distance measureth the scale of longitude. And that which is without the two said transversall lines, is onely to shew how the Orientall part is joined with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is set without the line in the Oriental part, is the same that is set within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is set without the line in the Occidentall part, is the same that is set within the line in the Orientall part, to shew that though this figure of the world in plaine or flatte seemeth to have an end, yet one imagining that this sayd Card were set upon a round thing, where the endes should touch by the lines, it would plainely appeare howe the Orient part joyneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is described and figured.

And for more declaration of the said Card, your Lordship shall understand, that beginning on the part Occidental within the line, the first land that is set out, is the maine land and Islands of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coast goeth Northward, and finisheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the sayd land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

The sayd coast from the sayd Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordshippe may see, commeth to a certaine straight Sea, called Estrecho de todos Santos:

by which straight Sea the Spaniards goe to the Spiceries, as I shall declare more at large: the which straight Sea is right against three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Equinoctiall three and fifty degrees. The first land from the sayd beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Islands of the Canaries, and Islandes of Capo verde. But the first maine land next to the line Equinoctial is the sayd Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the straight of this sea of Italie. And so followeth Spayne, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the highest parte toward the North. And over against Flanders are our Islands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coastes within the streights I have set out onely the Regions, dividing them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordship may see, in what situation everie region is, and of what highnesse, and with what regions it is joyned. I doe thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Asia and Affrica I could not so wel make the sayd divisions: for that they be not so wel knowen, nor need not so much. This I write because in the said Card be made the said lines & strikes, that your Lordship should understand wherefore they doe serve. Also returning to the foresaid Capo verde, the coast goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona speransa: which is right over against the 60. & 65. degree of longitude. And by this Cape go the Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordship may see in the headland over against the 130. degree. From the sayd Cape of Buona speransa the coast returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and passing forth entreth the red sea, & returning out, entreth again into the gulfe of Persia, and returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the headland called Calicut aforesayd, and from thence the coast making a gulfe, where is the river of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a headland called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: & from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coast goeth right toward the Orient, and over against this last gulfe and coast be many Islands, which be Islandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Upon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

The sayd coast goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right against the 155. degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coast not yet plainely knowen, I may joine to the New found lande found by us, that I spake of before. So that I finish with this briefe declaration of the Card aforesayd. Well I know I should also have declared how the coasts within the straights of the Sea of Italie runne. It is playne that passing the streights on the North side of that Sea after the coast of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coast of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Venice. And on the other part of the sayd gulfe is Sclavonia, and next Grecia, then the streits of Constantinople, and then the sea called Euxinus, which is within the sayd streights: and comming out of the sayd streights, followeth Turcia major (though now on both sides it is called Turcia.) And so the coast runneth Southward to Syria, and over against the sayd Turcia are the Islands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And over against Italie are the Islands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And over against Spaine is Majorca and Minorca. In the ende of the gulfe of Syria is Judea. And from thence returneth the coast toward the Occident, till it commeth to the streights where we began, which all is the coast of Affrike and Barbarie. Also your Lordship shall understand that the coastes of the Sea throughout all the world, I have coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Islands: and all without the line so coloured to bee Sea: whereby it is easie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other description would rather have made it obscure then cleere. And the sayd coasts of the Sea are all set justly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the navigation approveth them throughout all the Card, save onely the coastes and Isles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from over against the 160. to the 215. degrees of longitude, For these coastes and situations of the Islands, every of the Cosmographers and pilots of Portingal & Spayne do set after their purpose. The Spaniards more towards the Orient, because they should appeare to

appertain to the Emperour: & the Portingals more toward the Occident, for that they should fal within their jurisdiction. So that the pilots and navigants thither, which in such cases should declare the truth, by their industrie do set them falsly every one to favour his prince. And for this cause can be no certaine situation of that coast and Islands, till this difference betwixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpose of your Lordships demaund touching the difference between the Emperour and the king of Portingal, to understand it better, I must declare the beginning of this discoverie. Though peradventure your Lordship may say that in that I have written ought of purpose, I fall in the proverbe, A gemino ovo bellum: But your Lordship commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixious, and shalbe peradventure tedious, but your Lordship knoweth that Nihil ignorantia verbosius.

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certaine Carvels to discover this Spicerie. Then forasmuch as he feared that being discovered, every other prince woulde sende and trade thither, so that the cost and perill of discovering should be his, and the profite common: wherefore first hee gave knowledge of this his minde to all princes Christened, saying that hee would seeke amongst the infidels newe possessions of regions, and therefore would make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the cost of the sayd armie, he should enjoy his part of the profite or honour that should come of it. And as then this discovering was holden for a strange thing and uncertaine. Nowe they say, that all the Princes of Christendome answered, that they would be no part of such an armie, nor yet of the profit that might come of it. After the which he gave knowledge to the Pope of his purpose, and of the answere of all the Princes, desiring him that seeing that none would helpe in the costes, that he would judge all that should bee found and discovered to be of his jurisdiction, and commannd that none other princes should intermeddle therewith. The Pope sayd not as Christ saith, Quis me constituit judicem inter vos? He did not refuse, but making himselfe as Lord and Judge of all, not onely granted that all that should be discovered from Orient to Occident, should be the kings of Portingal, but also, that upon great censures no other Prince should discover

but he. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingal. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497 were discovered the Islands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the spice he hath.

After this in the yere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to discover lands toward the Occident without making any such diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Carvels, and then discovered this India Occidentall, especially two Islands of the sayd India, that in this Card I set forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he sent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to give him the sayd Islands. For that by the sentence of the Pope all that should be discovered was his, and that hee should not proceede further in the discoverie without his licence. And at the same time it seemeth that out of Castil into Portingal had gone for feare of burning infinite number of Jewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Christians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and silver. So that it seemeth that the king of Spaine answered, that it was reason that the king of Portingal asked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would give him the sayd Islands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the sayde kings, that none should receive the others subjects fugitives, nor their goods, therfore the king of Portingal should pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Jewes had caryed out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in so doing he would give these Islands, and desist from any more discovering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not give these Islands, but procure to discover more where him thought best. It seemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not with his ease pay this money. And so not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to discover: so that he enterprised not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And consented to the king of Spaine, that touching this discovering they should divide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that should be discovered from Cape Verde, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180 of the

sayd scale of longitude, which is halfe the world toward the Orient, & finisheth in this Card right over against a litle crosse made at the said 180 degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the said Crosse towarde the Occident, untill it joyneth with the other Crosse in the Orient, which conteineth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land over against the said hundreth & eighty degrees untill it finish in the three hundred and sixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the jurisdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they divided the world betweene them.

Now for that these Islands of Spicery fall neere the terme and limites betweene these princes (for as by the sayd Card you may see they begin from one hundred and sixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215) it seemeth all that falleth from 160 to 180 degrees, should be of Portingal: and all the rest of Spaine. And for that their Cosmographers and Pilots coulde not agree in the situation of the sayde Islandes (for the Portingals set them all within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards set them all without:) and for that in measuring, all the Cosmographers of both partes, or what other that ever have bene cannot give certaine order to measure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no starre fixed from East to West, as are the starres of the Poles from North to South, but all mooveth with the mooving divine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee measured, but by conjectures, as the Navigants have esteemed the way they have gone. But it is manifest that Spaine had the situation of al the lands from Cape Verde, toward the Orient of ye Portingals to their 180 degrees. And in all their Cardes they never hitherto set the saide Islands within their limitation of the sayd 180 degrees, (though they knewe very well of the Islands,) till now that the Spaniards discovered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to these Islands afore, but would never suffer Portingal to go thither from Calicut: for so much as he knew that it fell out of his dominion: least by going thither there might come some knowledge of those other Islands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloves of Marchants of that countrey, that brought

them to Calicut, much deerer then they would have cost, if he had sent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes secret. And now that it is discovered he sendes and keepes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

Also it should seeme that when this foresaid consent of the division of the worlde was agreed of betweene them, the king of Portingal had already discovered certaine Islandes that lie over against Cape Verde, and also certaine part of the maine land of India toward the South, from whence he fette Brasill, and called it the land of Brasil. So for that all should come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and seventie leagues beyond Cape Verde: and after this, his 180 degrees, being his part of the worlde, should begin in the Carde right over against the 340 degrees, where I have made a little compasse with a crosse, and should finish at the 160 degree, where also I have made another little marke. And after this computation without any controversie, the Islands of the spicery fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards say to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180 degrees from the sayde Cape Verde, to the intent they should extende more toward the Orient, and so to touch those Islandes of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is al that is betweene the two crosses made in this Card, that then the Islands of Cape Verde and the lande of Brasil that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the sayd limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180 degrees they count from the 370 leagues beyond the said Cape Verde, to include in it the said Islands and lands of Brasil, then plainely appeareth the said 180 degrees should finish long before they come to these Islands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordship may see. For their limits should begin at the 340 degrees of this Carde, and ende at the 160 degrees, where I have made two little markes of the compasse with crosses in them.

So that plainely it should appeare by reason, that the Portingals should leave these Islands of Cape Verde and land of Brasil, if they would have part of the Spicerie of the Emperours: or els holding these, they have no part there. To this the Portingals say, that they will beginne their 180 degrees from the selfe same Cape Verde: for

that it may extende so much more toward the Orient, and touch these Islandes of the Emperours: and would winne these Islandes of Cape Verde and land of Brasil neverthelesse, as a thing that they possessed before the consent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the best reason. They be not yet agreed, Quare sub Judice lis est.

But without doubt (by all conjectures of reason) the sayd Islands fall all without the limitation of Portingal, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the most part of all the Cardes made by the Portingals, save those which they have falsified of late purposely.

But now touching that your Lordship wrote, whether that which we discovered toucheth any thing the foresayd coastes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newefound land that we discovered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the gold and pearles: and so continueth of coast more then 5000 leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the said New lands it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward up till it come to the Straits of Todos Santos, which I reckon to be more then 5000 leagues.

So that to the Indias it should seeme that we have some title, at least that for our discovering we might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie.

Now then if from the sayd New found lands the Sea be navigable, there is no doubt, but sayling Northward and passing the Pole, descending to the Equinoctial line, we shall hit these Islands, and it should be a much shorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals have. For we be distant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together, bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 2489. and miles 7440: Where we should find these Islands. And the Navigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may see, from Spaine to the Islandes of Canarie, and from these Islandes they runne over the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of Saint Augustine, and from this Cape Southwards to the straites of Todos Santos, in the which

navigation to the said straites is 1700. or 1800 leagues; and from these Straites being past them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Islands of Spicerie, which are distant from the saide Straites 4200. or 4300. leagues.

The navigation of the Portingals to the said Islandes is departing from Portingall Southward towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape passing the line Equinoctial called Capo de bona speransa, and from Portingal to the Cape is 1800 leagues, and from this Cape to the Islands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that this navigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is sayd,) if between our New found lands or Norway, or Island, the seas toward the North be navigable, we should goe to these Islands a shorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

And though we went not to the sayd Islandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingal, wee shoulde by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are under the sayd line Equinoctiall: and also should, if we may passe under the North, enjoy the navigation of all Tartarie. Which should be no lesse profitable to our commodities of cloth, then these Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingal.

But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seventh clime, the sea is all ice, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that under the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was unhabitable.

Yet since (by experience is proved) no land so much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the same should be found under the North, if it were experimented. For as all judge, Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura: So I judge, there is no land unhabitable, nor Sea innavigable. If I should write the reason that presenteth this unto me, I should be too prolixe, and it seemeth not requisite for this present matter. God knoweth that though by it I should have no great interest, yet I have had and still have no litle mind of this businesse: So that if I had facultie to my will, it should be the first thing that I woulde understand, even to

attempt, if our Seas Northward be navigable to the Pole, or no. I reason, that as some sickenesses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discoverie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Bristow named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of the New found lands, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then have bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the gold commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coast, as by the Carde appeareth, and is aforesayd.

Also in this Carde by the coastes where you see C. your Lordship shall understand it is set for Cape or headland, where I. for Iland, where P. for Port, where R. for River. Also in all this little Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the land, save onely in these Ilands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is sayd) every one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they stand. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a consummate Carde should have, or that a right good demonstration desireth. For there should be expressed all the mountaines and Rivers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the sea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might have set, but not in this Carde, for the litle space would not consent.

Your Lordship may see that setting onely the names almost of every Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Islands are also left out, for the said lack of roome, the names almost of all Portes put to silence, with the roses of the windes or points of the compasse: For that this is not for Pilots to sayle by, but a summary declaration of that which your Lordship commanded. And if by this your Lordship cannot wel perceive the meaning of this Card, of the which I would not marveile, by reason of the rude composition of it, will it please your Lordship to advise mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cause one to be made. For I know my selfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet semper discens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam scientiam perveniens. Also I know, to set the forme Spherical of the world in Plano after the true rule of Cosmographie, it would have bene made otherwise

then this is: howbeit the demonstration should not have bene so plaine.

And also these degrees of longitude, that I set in the lower part of this card, should have bin set along by the line Equinoctiall, & so then must be imagined. For the degrees of longitude neere either of the poles are nothing equall in bignesse to them in the Equinoctiall. But these are set so, for that setting them a long the Equinoctial, it would have made obscure a great part of the map. Many other curiosities may be required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the spicerie, as for that I lack leasure and time. I trust your Lordship correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordships service. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordship will rather commaund me to keepe silence, then to be large, when you shall be wearied with the reading of this discourse. Jesus prosper your estate and health.

Your Lordships
Robert Thorne 1527.

Also this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to be shewed or communicated there with many of that court. For though there is nothing in it prejudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may be a cause of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for masters, as for that peradventure it would not sound well to them, that a stranger should know or discover their secretes: and would appeare worst of all, if they understand that I write touching the short way to the spicerie by our Seas. Though peradventure of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is unpossible, and I thinke never will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor else where is it to be spoken of. For to move it amongst wise men, it should bee had in derision. And therefore to none I would have written nor spoken of such things, but to your Lordship, to whom boldly I commit in this all my foolish fantasie as to my self. But if it please God that into England I may come with your Lordship, I will shew some conjectures of reason, though

against the generall opinion of Cosmographers, by which shall appeare this that I say not to lacke some foundation. And till that time I beseeche your Lordship let it be put to silence: and in the meane season it may please God to send our two Englishmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may also bring more plaine declaration of that which in this case might be desired.

Also I knowe I needed not to have beene so prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordship, if the sayd Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Cosmographie. For your Lordship would soone understand it better then I, or any other that could have made it: and so it should appeare that I shewed Delphinum natare. But for that I have made it after my rude maner, it is necessary that I be the declarer or gloser of mine own worke, or els your Lordship should have had much labour to understand it, which now with it also cannot be excused, it is so grossely done. But I knew you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I trust your Lordship will accept this, and hold me for excused. In other mens letters that they write they crave pardon that at this present they write no larger: but I must finish, asking pardon that at this present I write so largely. Jesus preserve your Lordship with augmentation of dignities.

Your servant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, sepulti in Ecclesia Templariorum Londini.

Robertus jacet hîc Thorne, quem Bristolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim semper magnæ Respublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis patria divitiis.
Ferre inopi auxilium, tristes componere lites,
Dulce huic consilio quósque juvare fuit.
Qui pius exaudis miserorum voto precésque,
Christe huic cœli des regione locum.

Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, governour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our most dread soveraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supreame head.

FIRST the Captaine general, with the pilot major, the masters, marchants & other officers, to be so knit and accorded in unitie, love, conformitie, and obedience in every degree on all sides, that no dissention, variance, or contention may rise or spring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that dissention (by many experiences) hath overthrown many notable intended and likely enterprises and exploits.

2 Item, for as much as every person hath given an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial subjects, and liege men to the kings most excellent Majestie, his heires and successors, and for the observation of all lawes & statutes, made for the preservation of his most excellent Majestie, & his crown Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to serve his grace, the Realme, and this present voyage truely, and not to give up, intermit, or leave off the said voyage and enterprise untill it shalbe accomplished, so farre forth as possibilitie and life of man may serve or extend: Therfore it behoveth every person in his degree, as well for conscience, as for dueties sake to remember his said charge, and the accomplishment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermore every mariner or passenger in his ship hath given like othe to bee obedient to the Captaine generall, and to every Captaine and master in his ship, for the observation of these present orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter shalbe made by the 12. counsailers in this present book named, or the most part of them, for the better conduction, and preservation of the fleete, and atchieving

of the voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honesty, reason, and duetie to be ministred, shewed & executed, in advancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therfore it is convenient that this present booke shall once every weeke (by the discretion of the Captaine) be read to the said companie, to the intent that every man may the better remember his othe, conscience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, every person by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good wil (as farre forth as him shall complie) all, and every such act and acts, deede and deeds, as shalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enjoyned (during the voyage) by the Captain generall, with the assent of the Counsell and assistants, as well in and during the whole Navigation and voyage, as also in discovering and landing, as cases and occasions shall require.

5 Item, all courses in Navigation to be set and kept, by the advice of the Captaine, Pilot major, masters, & masters mates, with the assents of the counsailers and the most number of them, and in voyces uniformely agreeing in one to prevaile, and take place, so that the Captaine generall, shall in all counsailes and assemblies have a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete shal keep together, and not separate themselves asunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & masters shall speedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he shall seeme to have just cause to assemble them for counsaile or consultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other skilful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Navigation of every day and night, with the points, and observation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of every ship to be put in writing, the captaine generall assembling the masters together once every weeke (if winde and weather shal serve) to conferre all the observations, and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and upon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a common

leger, to remain of record for the company: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Astrolabes, and other instruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterprises and exploits of discovering or landing to search Iles, regions, and such like, to be searched, attempted, and enterprised by good deliberation, and common assent, determined advisedly. And that in all enterprises, notable ambassages, suites, requests, or presentment of giftes, or presents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in person or by such other, as he by common assent shall appoint or assigne to doe or cause to be done in the same.

9 Item, the steward and cooke of every ship, and their associats, to give and render to the captaine and other head officers of their shippe weekely (or oftner) if it shall seeme requisite, a just or plaine and perfect accompt of expenses of the victuals, as wel flesh, fish, bisket, meate, or bread, as also of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualling under their charge, and they, and every of them so to order and dispende the same, that no waste or unprofitable excesse be made otherwise then reason and necessitie shall command.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he shalbe, shalbe tried untrue, remisse, negligent, or unprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to use him selfe in his charge accordingly, then every such officer to be punished or removed at the discretion of the captaine and assistants, or the most part of them, and the person so removed not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remove, any more for an officer, but to remaine in such condition and place, as hee shall be assigned unto, and none of the companie, to resist such chastisement or worthie punishment, as shalbe ministred unto him moderately, according to the fault or desert of his offence, after the lawes and common customes of the seas, in such cases heretofore used and observed.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour shalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is presently shipped for, such person may bee unshipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Majesties realme & dominion, and one other person more able and worthy to be put in his place, at the discretion

of the captaine and masters, & order to be taken that the partie dismissed shalbe allowed proportionably the value of that he shall have deserved to the time of his dismission or discharge, & he to give order with sureties, pawn, or other assurance, to repay the overplus of that he shall have received, which he shall not have deserved, & such wages to be made with the partie newly placed as shalbe thought reasonable, and he to have the furniture of al such necessaries as were prepared for the partie dismissed, according to right and conscience.

12 Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be used in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or ungodly talke to be suffred in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other divelish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely povertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the utter destruction of the parties, and provoking of Gods most just wrath, and sworde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagions of vices, and sinnes to bee eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to bee punished at the discretion of the captaine and master, as appertaineth.

13 Item, that morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the kings Majestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in every ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Navigants accordingly.

14 Item, that every officer is to be charged by Inventorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the diffraying of the same together with modest & temperate dispending of powder, shot, and use of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be misused, but diligently to be preserved for the necessary defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all instruments of your Navigation, and other requisites.

15 Item, no liquor to be spilt on the balast, nor filthines to be left within boord: the cook room, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the

companie, the gromals & pages to bee brought up according to the laudable order and use of the Sea, as well in learning of Navigation, as in exercising of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liveries in apparel given to the mariners be to be kept by the marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the captaine, when he shall see cause to muster or shewe them in good aray, for the advancement and honour of the voyage, and the liveries to bee redelivered to the keeping of the marchants, untill it shal be thought convenient for every person to have the ful use of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other passenger shal have neede of any necessarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conservation of his health, the same shall bee delivered him by the Marchant, at the assignement of the captaine and Master of that shippe, wherein such needie person shall be, at such reasonable price as the same cost, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value therof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the same to be discounted off the parties wages, that so shal receive, and weare the same.

18 Item the sicke, diseased, weake, and visited person within boord, to be tendred, relieved, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and every maner of person, without respect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuse such labour as shall be put to him, for the most benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterprise, to be atchieved exactly.

19 Item if any person shal fortune to die, or miscary in the voyage, such apparell, and other goods, as he shall have at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and Master of the shippe, and an inventorie to be made of it, and conserved to the use of his wife, and children, or otherwise according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he shall have deserved to his death, and what shall rest due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this present voyage, shall not make any shew or sale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein princes, or any of their subjects, without the consent, privitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Mar-

chants and the assistants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Major, and cape marchant to be three, and every of the pettie marchants to shewe his reckoning to the cape marchant, when they, or any of them shall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie marchants, without the assent abovesaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or given to the companie, by way of marchandise, trucke, or any other respect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conserved in one masse entirely, and not to be broken or altered, until the shippes shall returne to the right discharges, and inventorie of al goods, wares, and marchandises so trucked, bought, or otherwise dispended, to be presented to the Governor, Consuls, and Assistants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Majestie may be truly answered of that which to his grace by his grant of corporation is limited, according to our most bound dueties, and the whole companie also to have that which by right unto them appertaineth, and no embezelment shall be used, but the truth of the whole voyage to bee opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and mysterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine.

21 Item, no particular person, to hinder or prejudicate the common stocke of the company, in sale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchase to be employed to any severall profite, untill the common stocke of the companie shall be furnished, and no person to hinder the common benefite in such purchases or contingents, as shal fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, industrie, or chance, nor no contention to rise in that behalfe, by any occasion of jewel, stone, pearles, precious mettals, or other things of the region, where it shall chance the same to rise, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or given: but every person to be bounden in such case, and upon such occasion, by order, and direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell shall establish and determine, to whose order and discretion the same is left: for that of things uncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be given.

22 Item not to disclose to any nation the state of our religion, but to passe it over in silence, without any

declaration of it, seeming to beare with such lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you shall arrive.

23 Item for as much as our people, and shippes may appeare unto them strange and wonderous, and theirs also to ours: it is to be considered, how they may be used, learning much of their natures and dispositions, by some one such person, as you may first either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ships, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or dishonestie.

24 Item the person so taken, to be well entertained, used, and apparelled, to be set on land, to the intent that he or she may allure other to draw nigh to shewe the commodities: and if the person taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you shal know the secrets of his heart.

25 Item our people may not passe further into a lande, then that they may be able to recover their pinnesses, or ships, & not to credit the faire words of the strange people, which be many times tried subtile, and false, nor to be drawen into perill of losse, for the desire of golde, silver, or riches, and esteeme your owne commodities above al other, and in countenance shew not much to desire the forren commodities: neverthelesse take them as for friendship, or by way of permutation.

26 Item every nation and region is to be considered advisedly, & not to provoke them by any disdaine, laughing, contempt, or such like, but to use them with prudent circumspection, with al gentlenes, and curtesie, and not to tary long in one place, untill you shall have attained the most worthy place y^{t} may be found, in such sort, as you may returne w^{t} victuals sufficient prosperously.

27 Item the names of the people of every Island, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the same, their natures, qualities, and dispositions, the site of the same, and what things they are most desirous of, & what commodities they wil most willingly depart with, & what mettals they have in hils, mountaines, streames, or rivers, in, or under the earth.

28 Item if people shal appeare gathering of stones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the sand, your pinnesses may drawe nigh, marking what things they gather, using

or playing upon the drumme, or such other instruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments and voyces, but keepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no poynt or signe of rigour and hostilitie.

29 Item if you shall be invited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30 Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, having long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne oftentimes more to feare strangers, then for any other cause.

31 Item there are people that can swimme in the sea, havens, & rivers, naked, having bowes and shafts, coveting to draw nigh your ships, which if they shal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil assault, desirous of the bodies of men, which they covet for meate: if you resist them, they dive, and so will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in some Islands.

32 Item if occasion shal serve, that you may give advertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of successe in the voyage, passing such dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by sundry authors & writers, have ministred matter of suspition in some heads, that this voyage could not succede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of passage, & such like, which have caused wavering minds, and doubtful heads, not onely to withdraw themselves from the adventure of this voyage, but also disswaded others from the same, the certaintie wherof, when you shall have tried by experience, (most certaine Master of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth, which you shall have experted, you may by common assent of counsell, sende either by land, or otherwaies, such two or one person, to bring the same by credite, as you shal think may passe in safetie: which sending is not to be done, but upon urgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage, in finding of passage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or such other like, whereby the company being advertised of your

estates and proceedings, may further provide, foresee, and determine that which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same: either providing before hand such things, as shall bee requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or else otherwise to dispose as occasion shall serve: in which things your wisedomes and discretions are to be used, and shewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many persons, as well the kings Majestie, the Lords of his honorable Counsel, this whole companie, as also your wives, children, kinsfolkes, allies, friends and familiars, be replenished in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterprise, which is hoped no lesse to succeed to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias have to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whose subjects industries, and travailes by sea, have inriched them, by those lands and Islands, which were to all Cosmographers, and other writers both unknowne, and also by apparances of reason voide of experience thought and reputed unhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed tried most rich, peopled, temperate, and so commodious, as all Europe hath not the like.

33 Item no conspiracies, parttakings, factions, false tales, untrue reports, which be the very seedes, and fruits of contention, discord, & confusion, by evill tongues to be suffered, but the same, & all other ungodlines to be chastened charitably with brotherly love, and alwaies obedience to be used and practised by al persons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, under whose mercifull hand navigants above all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, and vicine, but also for prudent and worldly pollicie, and publike weale, considering and alwaies having present in your mindes that you be all one most royall kings subjects, and naturals, with daily remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praise, and benefite that depend of, and upon the same, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the advancement of you the travailers therein, your wives, and children, and so to endevour your selves as that you may satisfie the expectation of them, who at their great costs, charges,

and expenses, have so furnished you in good sort, and plentie of all necessaries, as the like was never in any realme seene, used, or knowen requisite and needful for such an exploit, which is most likely to be atchieved, and brought to good effect, if every person in his vocation shall endevour himselfe according to his charge, and most bounden duetie: praying the living God, to give you his grace, to accomplish your charge to his glorie, whose merciful hand shal prosper your voyage, and preserve you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof I Sebastian Cabota, Governour aforesaide, to these present ordinances, have subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere above written.

The names of the twelve Counsellors appointed in this voyage.

1 Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
2 Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape marchant.
4 Master Richard Stafford Minister.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 James Dalabere Gentleman.
7 William Gefferson Master of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8 Stephen Borrough Master of the Edward Bonaventure.
9 Cornelius Durfurth Master of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilson.
11 John Buckland. } Masters mates.
12 Richard Ingram.

The copie of the letters missive, which the right noble Prince Edward the sixt sent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the Northeast partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay, at such time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Christ 1553. and the seventh and last yeere of his raigne.

Edward the sixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Governours of the earth, and all other having

any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places under the universall heaven: peace, tranquillitie, and honour be unto you, and your lands and regions, which are under your dominions, and to every of you, as is convenient.

Forasmuch as the great and Almightie God hath given unto mankinde, above all other living creatures, such an heart and desire, that every man desireth to joine friendship with other, to love, and be loved, also to give and receive mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in every man, with well deserving to all men, and especially to shew this good affection to such, as being moved with this desire, come unto them from farre countreis. For how much the longer voyage they have attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors doe invite us hereunto, forasmuch as they have ever gently and lovingly intreated such as of friendly mind came to them, aswell from Countries neare hand, as farre remote, commending themselves to their protection. And if it be right and equity to shew such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse the same ought chiefly to be shewed to marchants, who wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things, as are found in their Countries, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the same, such things as they find there commodious for their owne Countries: both aswell that the people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities as their Countries bring not foorth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of heaven and earth greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the ende that one should have neede of another, that by this meanes friendship might be established among all men, and every one seeke to gratifie all. For the establishing and furtherance of which universall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, mooved heereunto by the said desire, have instituted and taken upon them a voyage by sea into farre Countreis, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may bee opened to bring in, and cary out marchandises, desiring us to further their enterprise. Who assenting

to their petition, have licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our trusty and faithfull servants, which are with him, according to their desire, to goe to countreis to them heeretofore unknowen, aswell to seeke such things as we lacke, as also to cary unto them from our regions, such things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and us, but also an indissoluble and perpetuall league of friendship be established betweene us both, while they permit us to take of their things, such whereof they have abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We therfore desire you kings & princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit unto these our servants free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours unwilling unto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiving againe of them such things as they shall bee able to give you in recompense. Shew your selves so towards them, as you would that we and our subjects should shewe ourselves towards your servants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heaven, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your servants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gently bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the favour and benignitie which you have shewed to our men. Thus after we have desired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and favour, to entertaine our welbeloved servants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which never shall have ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515. in the moneth of Iiar, the fourteenth day of the moneth, and seventh yeere of our reigne.

This letter was written also in Greeke, and divers other languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, to wit, the Speranza, which wintred in Lappia, where sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.

THE voiage intended for the discoverie of Cathay, and divers other regions, dominions, Islands, and places unknowen, set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota Esquire, and Governour of the mysterie and company of the Marchants Adventurers of the citie of London: which fleete being furnished, did set forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the seventh yeere of our most dread Soveraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the shippes of the fleete, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Major, Masters of the ships, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, having with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the fleete.

William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.

Roger Wilson, his Mate.

William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, John Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome, and use of the Seas,

John Brook, Master Gunner.

Nicholas Anthony, Boateswaine.

John Web, his Mate.

Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Davison, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.

William White, James Smith, Thomas Painter, John Smith, their Mates.

Richard Gwinne, George Goiswine, Carpenters.

Robert Gwinne, Purser.

Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.

Richard Morgan, Cooke.

Thomas Nashe, his Mate.

William Light, John Brande, Cutbert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, John Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.

Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.

Discharged at Harwich, by reason of sicknes, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.

For pickerie ducked at the yards arme, and so discharged Thomas Nash.

The Edward Bonaventure, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot major of the fleete.

Stephen Borowgh, Master of the ship.

John Buckland, his Mate.

George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.

John Stafford, Minister.

James Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, John Segswike, Thomas Francis, John Hasse, Richard Johnson, William Kempe.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome and use of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Master Gunner.

John Walker, his Mate.

James Long, John Cocks, Gunners.

Thomas Walter, Surgeon.

Peter Palmer, Boateswaine.

Richard Strowde, his Mate.

John Robinson, John Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Lishbie, quarter Masters.

John Austen, Steward: Patricke Stevens, his Mate.

Austen Jacks, Cooke.

William Every, Cowper.

Griffin Wagham, Carpenter.

Thomas Stelston, Thomas Townes, John Robinson, John White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, John Browne, William Morren, William Watson, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterson, William Beare, John Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough, Roger Welford, John Williams.

The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, having with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Cornelius Durfoorth, Master of the shippe.

Richard Ingram, his Mate.

Thomas Langlie, Edward Kever, Henrie Dorset, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the use and custome of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Master Gunner.

George Thurland, his Mate.

William Hamane, Boateswaine.

John Edwards, his Mate.

Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenson, John Haye, William Shepwash, quarter Masters.

John Reyne, Steward.

Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Lassie, his Mate.

Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.

Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, John Moore, William Chapman, Brian Chester, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibson, John Clarocke, Erasmus Bently, John Duriforth.

The Juramentum, or othe, ministred to the Captaine.

YOU shall sweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyal subject in all points, and duties, that to a subject appertaineth, to our soveraigne Lord the kings Majestie, his heires, and successors: and that you shall wel and truely to the uttermost of your capacitie, wit, & knowledge, serve this present voiage, committed to your charge, and not to give up, nor sooner intermit the same, until you shall have atchieved the same, so farre foorth, as you may without danger of your life, and losse of the fleete: you shall give good, true, and faithful counsell to the said societie, and to such as shal have the charge with or under you, and not to disclose the secrets, or privities of the same to any person by any maner of meane, to the prejudice, hurt, or damage of it. You shal minister justice to all men under your charge, without respect of person, or any affection, that might move you to decline from the true ministration of justice. And further, you shal observe, and cause to be observed, as much as in you lieth, all and singular rules, articles, provisions hitherto made, or heereafter to be made for

the preservation or safeconduct of the fleete and voyage, and benefit of the company. You shall not permit nor suffer the stocke or goods of the company to be wasted, imbezeled, or consumed, but shall conserve the same whole and entire, without diminishment, untill you shall have delivered, or cause to be delivered the same, to the use of the companie. And finally you shal use your selfe in all points, sorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this companie shall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe ministred to the Maister of the ship, &c.

You shall sweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according and to the uttermost of your knowledge, and good understanding in mariners science and craft, shall in your vocation doe your best to conduct the good shippe called the N. &c. whereof you nowe are Maister under God, both unto and from the portes of your discoverie, and so use your indevour and faithfull diligence, in charging, discharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the same shippe, as may be most for the benefite and profite of this right woorshipfull fellowship: and you shall not privately bargein, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatsoever (necessary tackles and victuals for the shippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the private lucre, gaine, or profit of any other person or persons whatsoever. And further, If you shall know any boatswaine, mariner, or any other person or persons whatsoever, to buy, sell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, marchandizes, or things for private account, reckoning, or behalfe, you shall doe your best to withstand and let the same: and if you cannot commodiously so doe, that then before the discharge of such goods bought for privat account, you shal give knowledge therof to the cape marchant of this said fellowship for the time being. And you shal not receive nor take, nor suffer to be received or taken into your said ship during this voyage any maner person or persons whatsoever, going or returning, but onely those mariners which without fraud or guile shall be hired to be of your company, and to serve in mariners craft and science onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foresaid shippes being fully furnished with their

pinnesses and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and other things necessary for their defence with al the men aforesaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and valed unto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, passing by Greenwich, saluting the kings Majesty then being there, shooting off our ordinance, & so valed unto Blackwall, and there remained until the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and so the same night unto Heyreth.

The 18. day from Heyreth unto Gravesend, and there remained until the twentieth day: that day being Saterday, from Gravesend unto Tilberie Hope, remaining there untill the two and twentieth day.

The 22. day from Tilbery Hope to Hollie haven.

The 23. day from Hollie Haven, till we came against Lee, and there remained that night, by reason that the winde was contrary to us.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southwest in the morning, we sailed along the coast over the Spits, untill we came against S. Osyth, about sixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Osyth, and so sailed forward unto the Nase, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at five of the clock in the morning, we weyed our anker, and sailed over the Nase, the winde being at the Southwest, untill wee came to Orwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there untill the 28. day.

The same day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers, and sailed til we came athwart Walsursye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we stayed that day, where we consulted which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discoverie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at five of the clocke in the morning wee set saile, and came against Yermouth about three leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the sea sixe leagues Northeast,

and there taried that night, where the winde blew very sore.

The first of June the winde being at North contrary to us, wee came backe againe to Orwell, and remained there untill the 15. day, tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose.

The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our ankers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we set forward, and sayled untill we came athwart Alburrough, and there stayed that night.

The 17 day about five of the clocke before noone we went backe unto Orfordnesse, and there remained untill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of June the wind being faire in the Southwest we hailed into the seas to Orfordnesse, and from thence into the seas ten leagues Northeast: then being past the sands, we changed our course sixe leagues Northnortheast: about midnight we changed our course againe, and went due North, continuing in the same unto the 27 day.

The 27 day about seven of the clocke Northnorthwest 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shotland: then the wind veared to the West, so that we could lie but North and by West, continuing in the same course 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we sayled North 16 leagues by estimation, after that North and by West, & Nortnorthwest, then Southeast, with divers other courses, traversing and tracing the seas, by reason of sundry and manifolde contrary windes, untill the 14 day of July: and then the sunne entring into Leo, we discovered land Eastward of us, unto the which we sayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on shore with our Pinnesse, & found little houses to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we judged, for feare of us.

The land was all full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Orfordnesse

North and by East, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance betweene Orfordnesse and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues Northwest, and found many other Islandes, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinnesse, and went on shore to the Islands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shore and welcomed us. In which place were an innumerable sort of Islands, which were called the Isles of Rost, being under the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, & there was an innumerable sort of foules of divers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Rost, sailing Northnortheast, keeping the sea untill the 27 day, and then we drew neere unto the land, which was still East of us: then went foorth our Pinnesse to seeke harborow, & found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our shippes, which was called Stanfew, and the land being Islands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also under the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there until the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foresaid Rost about 30 leagues Northnortheast.

The 30 day of July about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Islands Northnortheast, keeping the land still in sight untill the second day of August: then hailing in close aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a skiffe of the Island aboord of us, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed unto us, that the Island was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seventy degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being also under the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandise there, but onely dryed fish, and traine oyle. Then we being purposed to goe unto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might have a pilot to bring us unto Finmarke, & he said, that if we could beare in, we should have a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring us to Finmarke, unto the wardhouse, which is the strongest holde in Finmarke, and most resorted to by report. But

when wee would have entred into an harbour, the land being very high on every side, there came such flawes of winde and terrible whirlewinds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea agayne, our Pinnesse being unshipt: we sailed North and by East, the wind increasing so sore that we were not able to beare any saile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the end to let the storme over passe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickenesse of mists, we were not able to keepe together within sight, and then about midnight we lost our pinnesse, which was a discomfort unto us. Assoone as it was day, and the fogge overpast, we looked about, and at the last we descried one of our shippes to Leeward of us: then we spred an hullocke of our foresaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not see. Then the flaw something abating, we and the Confidence hoysed up our sailes the fourth day, sayling Northeast and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouse, as we did consult to doe before, in case we should part company. Thus running Northeast and by North, and Northeast fiftie leagues, then we sounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceived that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherfore we changed our course the sixt day, and sailed Southeast and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouse.

The eight day much winde rising at the Westnorthwest, we not knowing how the coast lay, strook our sayles, and lay a drift, where we sounded and found 160 fadomes as afore.

The ninth day, the wind vearing to the South Southeast, we sailed Northeast 25 leagues.

The tenth day we sounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could see any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the Northeast, we ran Southeast about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we sounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire sand.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by East, we lay with our saile East, and East and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning we descried land, which land we bare with all, hoising out our boat to

discover what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was so shoale, where was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam East and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeast, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and stocked, we thought it good to seeke harbour for her redresse: then we bare roome the 18 day Southsoutheast, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we sounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we sounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, so shoalder and shoalder water, and yet could see no land, where we marveiled greatly: to avoide this danger, we bare roomer into the sea all that night Northwest and by West.

The next day we sounded, and had 20 fadoms, then shaped our course, and ran West Southwest untill the 23. day: then we descried Low land, unto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared unto us unhabitable. Then wee plyed Westward along by that lande, which lyeth West Southwest, and East Northeast, and much winde blowing at the West, we haled into the sea North and by East 30. leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeast, we sailed West Northwest: after that, the winde bearing to the Northwest, we lay with our sailes West southwest, about 14. leagues, and then descried land, and bare in with it, being the 28. day, finding shoale water, and bare it till we came to 3. fadome, then perceiving it to be shoale water, and also seeing drie sands, we haled out againe Northeast along that land until we came to the point therof. That land turning to the Westwarde, we ran along 16. leagues Northwest: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was unhabited, but yet it appeared unto us that the people had bin there, by crosses, and other signes: from thence we went all along the coast Westward.

The fourth day of September we lost sight of land, by reason of contrary winds, and the eight day we descried land againe. Within two dayes after we lost the sight of it: then running West and by South about 30. leagues, we gat the sight of land againe, and bare in with it untill

night: then perceiving it to be a lee shore, we gat us into the sea, to the end to have sea roome.

The 12. of September we hailed to shoareward againe, having then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere unto the shoare, and the tide almost spent, wee came to an anker in 30. fadoms water.

The 13. day we came along the coast, which lay Northwest and by West and Southeast and by East.

The 14. day we came to an anker within two leagues of the shoare, having 60. fadoms.

There we went a shore with our boat, & found two or three good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The 15 day we ran still along the coast untill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary unto us, we thought it best to returne unto the harbor which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the haven, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This haven runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many seale fishes, & other great fishes, and upon the maine we saw beares, great deere, foxes, with divers strange beasts, as guloines, and such other which were to us unknowen, and also wonderfull. Thus remaining in this haven the space of a weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent, & also very evill wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men Southsouthwest, to search if they could find people, who went three dayes journey, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure daies journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes journey, who in like sorte returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

These two notes following were written upon the outside of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was separated from the Edward Bonaventure.

2 Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofoote.

The river or haven wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere unto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and most of the company were alive in January 1554.

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia, and Duke of Moscovia, and of the dominions orders and commodities thereunto belonging: drawen by Richard Chancelour.

Forasmuch as it is meete and necessary for all those that minde to take in hande the travell into farre or strange countreys, to endevour themselves not onely to understande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulnesse thereof, but also to applie them to the setting foorth of the same whereby it may incourage others to the like travaile: therefore have I nowe thought good to make a briefe rehearsall of the orders of this my travaile in Russia and Moscovia, and other countreys thereunto adjoyning; because it was my chaunce to fall with the North partes of Russia before I came towards Moscovia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Russia is very plentifull both of land and people, and also welthy for such commodities as they have. They be very great fishers for Salmons and small Coddes: they have much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the most whereof is made by a river called Duina. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They have also a great trade in seething of salte water. To the North parte of that countrey are the places where they have their Furres, as Sables, marterns, greese Bevers, Foxes white, blacke, and redde, Minkes, Ermines, Miniver, and Harts. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a Morsse. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Postesora, which bring them upon Hartes to Lampas to sell, and from Lampas carie them to a place called Colmogro, where the hie market is holden on Saint Nicholas day. To the West of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanove, in our language Novogorode, where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much waxe and honie. The Dutch marchants have a Staplehouse there. There is also great store of hides, and at a place called Plesco: and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe,

Waxe, Honie; and that towne is from Colmogro 120 miles.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plenty as is in Gratanove. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a river called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the sea. Colmogro serveth Gratanowe, Vologda and the Mosco with all the countrey thereabout with salte and saltfish. From Vologda to Jeraslave is two hundreth miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and tallowe, and corne in great plenty, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places.

The Mosco is from Jeraslave two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very wel replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with corne which they carie to the citie of Mosco in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meete in a morning seven or eight hundred sleds comming or going thither, that carrie corne, and some carie fish. You shall have some that carie corne to the Mosco, and some that fetch corne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off; and all their cariage is on sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North partes of the Dukes dominions, where the cold will suffer no corne to grow, it is so extreme. They bring thither fishes, furres, and beastes skinnes. In those partes they have but small store of cattell.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eighteene foote thicke, but I doe not beleeve it, it doth not so seeme, notwithstanding I doe not certainely know it: for no stranger may come to viewe it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a river called Moscua which runneth into Tartarie and so into the sea called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a base towne, the which hath also a bricke wall about it, and so it joyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the castle, wherein are nine fayre Churches, and therin are religious men.

Also there is a Metropolitane with divers Bishops. I will not stande in description of their buildinges nor of the strength thereof because we have better in all points in England. They be well furnished with ordinance of all sortes.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I have seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the olde building of England, with small windowes, and so in other poynts.

Now to declare my comming before his Majestie: After I had remained twelve daies, the Secretary which hath the hearing of strangers did send for me, advertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to have me to come before his Ma. with the kings my masters letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gave mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpretour came for me into the utter chamber, where sate one hundred or moe gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsaile chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they sate round about the chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne upon his head, and a staffe of Cristall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The Chancelour stoode up with the Secretary before the Duke. After my dutie done and my letter delivered, he bade me welcome, & enquired of me the health of the King my master, and I answered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my trust was that he was now in the same. Upon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancelour presented my present unto his Grace bareheaded (for before they were all covered) and when his Grace had received my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to me. So I departed unto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for againe unto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I have seene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and so I came into the hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Majesties

of England, and the table was covered with a tablecloth; and the Marshall sate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of vessell of golde: and on the other side of the hall did stand a faire cupborde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his table without cloth of estate, in a gowne of silver, with a crowne emperiall upon his head, he sate in a chaire somewhat hie: There sate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stoode were higher by two steppes then the rest of the house. In the middest of the chamber stoode a table or cupbord to set plate on; which stoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongst all the rest there stoode foure marveilous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and silver: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupborde stoode two gentlemen with napkins on their shoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold set with pearles and precious stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups: when he was disposed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his service at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich service: for all were served in gold, not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of his, and it was very massie: the cups also were of golde and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were served in golden vessell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they served him with their caps on their heads. Before the service came in, the Duke sent to every man a great shiver of bread, and the bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and sayd, John Basilivich Emperour of Russia and great Duke of Moscovia doth reward thee with bread: then must all men stand up, and doe at all times when those wordes are spoken. And then last of all he giveth the Marshall bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reverence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes service of the Swannes all in pieces, and every one in a severall dish: the which the Duke sendeth as he did the bread, and the bearer sayth the same wordes as he sayd before. And as I sayd before, the service of his meate is in no

order, but commeth in dish by dish: and then after that the Duke sendeth drinke, with the like saying as before is tolde. Also before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; so that I saw three severall crownes upon his head in one day. And thus when his service was all come in hee gave to every one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, & so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I have heard, that every man shall know perfectly his servants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare howe he could name them, having so many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an hower within night. I will leave this, and speake no more of him nor his houshold: but I will somewhat declare of his land and people, with their nature and power in the wars. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreis, & his power is marveilous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he never goeth into the field himselfe with under two hundred thousand men: And when he goeth himselfe he furnisheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no small number. He leaveth on the borders of Liefland fortie thousand men, and upon the borders of Letto 60 thousand men, and towarde the Nagayan Tartars sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee never take to his warres neither husbandman nor marchant. All his men are horsemen: he useth no footmen, but such as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The horsemen are all archers, with such bowes as the Turkes have, and they ride short as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their coates are covered with velvet or cloth of gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the nobles and gentlemen: as I have heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I have seene it, or else I would scarcely have beleeved it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attired above all measure: his pavilion is covered either with cloth of gold or silver, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I have seene the Kings Majesties of England and the French Kings pavilions, which are fayre, yet not like unto his. And when they bee sent into farre or strange countreys, or that strangers

come to them, they be very gorgious. Els the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reasonably apparelled over other times. In the while that I was in Mosco the Duke sent two ambassadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the lest five hundred horses; their sumptuousnes was above measure, not onely in themselves, but also in their horses, as velvet, cloth of golde, and cloth of silver set with pearles and not scant. What shall I farther say? I never heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no dayly guise, for when they have not occasion, as I sayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without al order in the field. For they runne hurling on heapes, and for the most part they never give battell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by stelth. But I beleeve they be such men for hard living as are not under the sun: for no cold wil hurt them. Yea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freese more then a yard thicke, the common souldier hath neither tent nor any thing else over his head: the most defence they have against the wether is a felte, which is set against the winde and weather, and when Snowe commeth hee doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him down thereby. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which have other provision of their owne. Their lying in the fielde is not so strange as is their hardnes: for every man must carie & make provision for himselfe & his horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderful. For he himselfe shal live upon water & otemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his horse shal eat green wood, & such like baggage, & shal stand open in the cold field without covert, & yet wil he labour & serve him right wel. I pray you amongst all our boasting warriors how many should we find to endure the field with them but one moneth. I know no such region about us that beareth that name for man & beast. Now what might be made of these men if they were trained & broken to order and knowledge of civill wars? If this Prince had within his countreys such men as could make them to understand ye things aforesaid, I do beleeve that 2 of the best or greatest princes in Christendome were not wel able to match with him, con-

sidering the greatnes of his power & the hardnes of his people & straite living both of people and horse, and the small charges which his warres stand him in: for he giveth no wages, except to strangers. They have a yerely stipend & not much. As for his own countrey men every one serveth of his owne proper costes and charges, saving that he giveth to his Harcubusiers certaine allowance for powder & shot: or else no man in all his countrey hath one pennie wages. But if any man hath done very good service he giveth him a ferme or a piece of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to bee readie with so many men as the Duke shall appoynt: who considereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and so many shall he bee bound to furnish at all and every such time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of living, but hee is bound likewise, whether the Duke call for either souldier or labourer, to furnish them with all such necessaries as to them belong.

Also, if any gentleman or man of living do die without issue male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithstanding he have never so many daughters, and peradventure giveth it foorthwith to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marrie the daughters with all. Also if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of living, which is striken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke service, some other gentleman that is not able to live and more able to doe service, will come to the Duke and complayne, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is unmeete to doe service to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewise your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke living, and we that lacke are well able to doe good service, your Grace might doe well to looke upon him, and make him to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proved, he shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee sayd unto him, friend, you have too much living, and are unserviceable to your prince, lesse will serve you, and the rest will serve other men that are more able to serve. whereupon immediately his living shal be taken away from him, saving a little to find himselfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for answere

he will say, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot say, as we the common people in England say, if wee have any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may say, that these men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one must give and grant his goods which he hath bene scraping and scratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleasure and commandement. Oh that our sturdie rebels were had in the like subjection to knowe their duety towarde their Princes. They may not say as some snudges in England say, I would find the Queene a man to serve in my place, or make his friends tarrie at home if money have the upper hand. No, no, it is not so in this countrey: for hee shall make humble sute to serve the Duke. And whom he sendeth most to the warres he thinketh he is most in his favour: and yet as I before have sayde, he giveth no wages. If they knewe their strength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them should have any rest of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young horse that knoweth not his strength, whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great strength: for if hee did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden against the Crimme Tartarians and the Nagaians.

I will stand no longer in the rehearsall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and punishments, and the execution of justice. And first I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen have rule on: And that is, that every gentleman hath rule and justice upon his owne tenants. And if it so fall out that two gentlemens servants or tenaunts doe disagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and have the parties before them, and soe give the sentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controversie, but either of the gentlemen must bring his servant or tenant before the high judge or justice of that countrey, and there present them, and declare the matter and case. The plaintife sayth, I require the law; which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arresteth the party defendant, and useth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, untill such time as he findeth suerties to answere

the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten about the legges, with other extreme punishments till he come to his answere: And the Justice demaundeth if it be for debt, and sayth: Owest thou this man any such debt? He will perhaps say nay. Then sayth the Judge: art thou able to denie it? Let us heare how? By othe sayth the defendant. Then he commandeth to leave beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They have no man of Lawe to pleade their causes in any court: but every man pleadeth his owne cause, and giveth bill and answere in writing: contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a supplication, & made to the Dukes Grace, and delivered him into his owne hand, requiring to have justice as in his complaint is alleaged.

The duke giveth sentence himselfe upon all matters in the Law. Which is very commendable, that such a Prince wil take paines to see ministration of justice. Yet notwithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceived. But if it fall out that the officers be espied in cloking the trueth, they have most condigne punishment. And if the plaintife can nothing proove, then the defendant must take his oth upon the crucifixe whether he bee in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintife be any thing able further to make proofe: if hee bee not; then sometimes he will say, I am able to proove it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aswell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare upon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the trueth before they depart foorth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they use in that countrey: they fight all on foote, & seldome the parties themselves do fight, except they be Gentlemen, for they stand much upon their reputation, for they wil not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselves. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted unto them, and no champion is to serve in their roome: wherein is no deceit: but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great othes upon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the

contrary often seene: because the common champions have none other living. And assoone as the one party hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carried to prison, and there is shamefully used till he take order. There is also another order in the lawe, that the plaintife may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant be poore, he shalbe set under the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintife must sweare over his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and useth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hier to any such as neede him, untill such time as his friends make provision for his redemption: or else hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will sell themselves to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bond-men, to have during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to have a piece of mony. yea and some will sell their wives and children to bee bawdes and drudges to the byer. Also they have a Lawe for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there he shall remaine untill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purse, as there be very many, the second time he is taken, he hath a piece of his Nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till hee finde sureties for his good behaviour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time he is extremely punished and not released, except hee have very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to have him to the warres: And in so doing, he shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they be naturally given to great deceit, except extreme beating and bridle them. They be naturally given to hard living and swell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that it was a great deale merrier living in prison then forth, but for the great beating. For they have meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and live most miserably: for I have seene them eate the pickle of

Hearring and other stinking fish: nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to be more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there be no such people under the sunne for their hardnesse of living. Well, I will leave them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe observe the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They have no graven images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they use such idolatrie, that the like was never heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (say they) have pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, Looke how the Painter or Carver hath made them, so we doe worship them, and they worship none before they be Christened. They say we be but halfe Christians: because we observe not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselves more holy then us. They have none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their countrey among them. All their service in Churches is in their mother tongue. They have the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they have such tricks in their reading, that no man can understand them, nor no man giveth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at service no man sitteth, but gagle and ducke like so many Geese. And as for their prayers they have but little skill, but use to say As bodi pomele: As much to say, Lord have mercy upon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creede, no man may be so bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it shoulde not bee spoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Commandements, and they wil say they were given to Moses in the law, which Christ hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and passion: therefore, (say they) we observe little or none thereof. And I doe beleeve them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Commaundements together,

they shoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They have the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then wee have. They present them in a dish in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church upon the Priestes head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule pense, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare. They have foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as we doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleeve there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkennesse. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters even. If they should breake that fast, their beliefe is, that they should not come in at heaven gates. And when any of them die, they have a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to heaven gates it may deliver the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Russian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeven. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Christmas Eeven: which Lent is fasted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greatest Saints in that countrey. In these Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheese; but they are very straitely kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they observe truely the Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh. Furthermore they have a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no flesh throughout the yeere, but fish, milke and Butter. By their order they should eate no fresh-fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, salt Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our peny Ale, and is called Quass. They have service daily in their Churches; and use to goe to service two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to

dinner: and after that to service againe: and then to supper. You shall understand that at every dinner and supper they have declared the exposition of the Gospel that day: but howe they wrest and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull. As for whoredome and drunkennesse there be none such living: and for extortion, they be the most abhominable under the sunne. Nowe judge of their holinesse. They have twise as much land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet he is reasonable eeven with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and simple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their houses dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moveable and unmoveable: so that the successour buieth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they be the best Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, trusting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worshipfull and my singular good Uncle, Master Christopher Frothingham, give these.

Sir, Reade and correct;
For great is the defect.

The Testimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades, concerning the Booke following.

And whereas (saith he) I have before made mention howe Moscovie was in our time discovered by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebastian Cabota, who long before had this secret in his minde: I shall not neede here to describe that voyage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned yong man Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henshmen, as he received it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler.

The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Moscovia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553: Enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chancelor Pilot major of the voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams.

At what time our Marchants perceived the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about us, and neere unto us, and

that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certaine grave Citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themselves, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the avoyding of so great an inconvenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the discoverie and search of newe trades and Countreys was marveilously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolved upon a newe and strange Navigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowmed, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discoverie of the Northerne part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for travaile to newe and unknowen kingdomes.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to bee regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first make choyse of certaine grave and wise persons in maner of a Senate or companie, which should lay their heads together, and give their judgements, and provide things requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money should publiquely bee collected to serve for the furnishing of so many shippes. And lest any private man should bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken, that every man willing to be of the societie, should disburse the portion of twentie and five pounds a piece: so that in short time by this meanes the summe of sixe thousand pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they provided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very strong and well seasoned plankes for the build-

ing, the Shippewrights, they with daily travaile, and their greatest skill doe fitte them for the dispatch of the shippes: they calke them, pitch them, and among the rest, they make one most stanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious invention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake that is: and therfore that the Mariners, and the rest to bee imployed in this voyage might bee free and safe from this danger, they cover a piece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and having thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the provision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to have the East part of the world sayled unto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northren tract, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolved to victuall the ships for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reason. For our men being to passe that huge and colde part of the world, they wisely foreseeing it, allowe them sixe moneths victuall to saile to the place, so much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much more also for the time of their comming home.

Nowe this provision being made and carried aboord, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and governours of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and some voyde of experience) offered themselves, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earnestly requested to have that care and charge committed unto him: of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the services of warre, the company of the Marchants made greatest accompt: so that at the last they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appoynted to him the Admirall with authoritie and commaund over all the rest. And for the governement of other ships although divers men seemed willing, and

nade offers of themselves thereunto, yet by a common consent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great estimation or many good partes of wit in him, was elected, in whom lone great hope for the performance of this businesse sted. This man was brought up by one Master Henry idney, a noble young Gentleman and very much beloved f King Edward, who at this time comming to the place here the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a ery eloquent speech or Oration, and spake to them after nis maner following.

My very worshipfull friends, I cannot but greatly ommend your present godly and vertuous intention, in ue serious enterprising (for the singular love you beare your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will proove ofitable for this nation, and honourable to this our nd. Which intention of yours wee also of the Nobilitie e ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe ee holde any thing so deare and precious unto us, which ee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in so com- endable a cause. But principally I rejoyce in my selfe, at I have nourished and maintained that witte, which like by some meanes and in some measure, to profite d steede you in this worthy action. But yet I would t have you ignorant of this one thing. that I doe now rt with Chanceler, not because I make little reckoning the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and argeable unto mee, but that you might conceive and derstand my good will and promptitude for the further- ce of this businesse, and that the authoritie and timation which hee deserveth may be given him. You ow the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, by deedes, you by speech and companie, but I by the ily triall of his life have a full and perfect knowledge him. And you are also to remember, into howe many rils for your sakes, and his countreys love, he is nowe runne: whereof it is requisite that wee be not unminde- l, if it please God to send him good successe. Wee mmit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of rtune: He commits his life (a thing to a man of all ngs most deare) to the raging Sea, and the uncertainties many dangers. We shall here live and rest at home ietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in e meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and unruly ariners in good order and obedience, with howe many

cares shall hee trouble and vexe himselfe? with how many troubles shall he breake himselfe? and howe many disquietings shall hee bee forced to sustaine? We shall keepe our owne coastes and countrey: Hee shall seeke strange and unknowen kingdomes. He shall commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea. Wherefore in respect of the greatnesse of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to favour and love the man thus departing from us: and if it fall so happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie also, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had delivered this or some such like speech, much more eloquently then I can possiblie report it, the companie then present beganne one to looke upon another, one to question and conferre with another: and some (to whom the vertue and sufficiencie of the man was knowen) began secretly to rejoyce with themselves, and to conceive a speciall hope, that the man would proove in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and shining to the world would growe to the great honour and advancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest gravity amongst them, to inquire, search and seeke what might be learned & knowen, concerning the Easterly part or tract of the world. For which cause two Tartarians, which were then of the kings Stable, were sent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to answere nothing to the purpose: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly said) to tosse pottes, then to learne the states and dispositions of people. But after much adoe and many things passed about this matter, they grewe at last to this issue, to set downe and appoynt a time for the departure of the shippes: because divers were of opinion, that a great part of the best time of the yeere was already spent, and if the delay grewe longer, the way would bee stopt and bard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought best by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Mariners should

take shipping, and depart from Radcliffe upon the ebbe, if it pleased God. They having saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinsfolkes, were present and ready at the day appoynted: and having wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes are towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or skie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay) presently upon the newes therof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke upon the shoare: the privie Counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne up to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their Ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an Eccho, and the Mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stoode in the poope of the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friendes in the best maner hee could. Another walkes upon the hatches, another climbes the shrowds, another stands upon the maine yard, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reason of his sickenesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The shippes going downe with the tyde came at last to Woolwich, where they stayed and cast ancre, with purpose to depart therehence againe, as soone as the turning of the water, and a better winde should drawe them to set saile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which porte they stayed long, not without great losse and consuming of time: yet at the last with a good winde they hoysed up saile, and committed themselves to the sea, giving their last adieu to their native Countrey, which they knewe not whether they should

ever returne to see againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not refraine from teares, considering into what hazards they were to fall, and what uncertainties of the sea they were to make triall of.

Amongst the rest, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, was not a little grieved with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hogges-heads of wine also leaked, and were not stanch: his naturall and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his two little sonnes, which were in the case of Orphanes if he spedde not well: the estate also of his companie mooved him to care, being in the former respects after a sort unhappie, and were to abide with himselfe every good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of sorowes and cares, after many dayes sayling, they kenned land afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ships: and being come to it, they land, and finde it to be Rost Island, where they stayed certaine dayes, and afterwards set saile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they espied certaine other Islands, which were called the Crosse of Islands. From which places when they were a litle departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foresight and providence in all his actions, erected and set out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefest men of the other shippes, that by the helpe and assistance of their counsels, the order of the governement, and conduction of the shippes in the whole voyage might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempest should arise at any time, and happen to disperse and scatter them, every shippe should indevour his best to goe to Wardhouse, a haven or castell of some name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arrived there first in safetie should stay and expect the comming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, so great a tempest suddenly arose, and the Seas were so outragious, that the ships could not keepe their intended course, but some were perforce driven one way, and some another way, to their great perill and hazard: The generall with his lowdest voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earnestly requested him not to

goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he sailed still so fast: for the Admirall was of better saile then his shippe. But the said Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his sailes, was caried away with so great force and swiftnesse, that not long after hee was quite out of sight, and the third ship also with the same storme and like rage was dispersed and lost us.

The shippe boate of the Admirall (striking against the shippe,) was overwhelmed in the sight and viewe of the Mariners of the Bonaventure: and as for them that are already returned and arrived, they know nothing of the rest of the ships what was become of them.

But if it be so, that any miserable mishap have overtaken them, If the rage and furie of the Sea have devoured those good men, or if as yet they live, and wander up and downe in strange Countreys, I must needs say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be living, let us wish them safetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God send them a Christian grave and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his shippe and company being thus left alone, and become very pensive, heavie, and sorowfull, by this dispersion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arrivall of the rest of the shippes. And being come thither, and having stayed there the space of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and speech with certaine Scottishmen: who having understanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, beganne earnestly to disswade him from the further prosecution of the discoverie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serve to that purpose. But hee holding nothing so ignominious and reprochfull, as inconstancie and levitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour coulde not commit a more dishonourable part then for feare of danger to avoyde and shunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots, remaining stedfast and immutable in his first resolution:

determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chanceler in his shippe, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with Master Chanceler, that they were resolute, and prepared under his direction and government, to make proofe and triall of all adventures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed up with like good will and love towards them, feared lest through any errour of his, the safetie of the companie should bee indangered. To conclude, when they sawe their desire and hope of the arrivall of the rest of the shippes to be every day more and more frustrated, they provided to sea againe, and Master Chanceler held on his course towards that unknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearely upon the huge and mightie Sea. And having the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout over. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within it cast ancre, and looking every way about them, it happened that they espied a farre off a certaine fisher boate, which Master Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towards to common with the fishermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of living they were: but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his shippe, (for in those partes before that time they had never seene the like) beganne presently to avoyde and to flee: but hee still following them at last overtooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselves before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singular courtesie,) looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, refusing those

dueties and reverences of theirs, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider howe much favour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed spread by and by a report abroad of the arrivall of a strange nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together offering to these newe-come ghests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious use and custome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the king.

Bv this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Russia, or Moscovie, and that Ivan Vasiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and governed farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answere was made, that they were Englishmen sent into those coastes, from the most excellent King Edward the sixt, having from him in commandement certaine things to deliver to their King, and seeking nothing els but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the subjects of both kingdomes.

The Barbarians heard these things very gladly, and promised their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with so honest and a reasonable request.

In the meane time Master Chanceler intreated victuals for his money of the governour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hostages of them likewise for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe and his company. To whom the Governours answered, that they knewe not in that case the will of their king, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to affoord him the benefit of victuals.

Nowe while these things were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger unto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arrivall of a strange nation, and withall to knowe his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome unto him, insomuch that voluntarily hee invited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a journey, they thought it not

best so to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his subjects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promised, that if it would please them to come to him, hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of poste horses. In the meane time the governours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending divers excuses, and saying one while that the consent of all the governours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their answere: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, untill the messenger (sent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master Chanceler, (seeing himselfe held in this suspense with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moscovites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolved to furnish our people with all things necessarie, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their king. And so Master Chanceler beganne his journey, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein hee had the use of certaine sleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are caried themselves upon sleds, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cause wherof is the exceeding hardnesse of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in those places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will say something.

But nowe they having passed the greater part of their journey, mette at last with the Sleddeman (of whom I spake before) sent to the king secretly from the Justices or governours, who by some ill happe had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea side, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to have found our ship. But having long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by delivered the Emperours letters, which were

written to him with all courtesie and in the most loving maner that could be: wherein expresse commandement was given, that post horses should bee gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russes in the rest of their journey so willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight also in striving and contending which of them should put their post horses to the sledde: so that after much adoe and great paines taken in this long and wearie journey, (for they had travailed very neere fifteene hundred miles) Master Chanceler came at last to Mosco the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the seate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himselfe, and of the principall cities of Moscovie, wee will speake immediatly more at large in this discourse.

Of Moscovie, which is also called Russia.

Moscovie, which hath the name also of Russia the white, is a very large and spacious Countrey, every way bounded with divers nations. Towards the South and the East, it is compassed with Tartaria: the Northren side of it stretcheth to the Scytian Ocean: upon the West part border the Lappians, a rude and savage nation, living in woods, whose language is not knowen to any other people: next unto these, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Livonia, and last of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moscovie, hath also very many and great rivers in it, and is marish ground in many places: and as for the rivers, the greatest and most famous amongst all the rest, is that, which the Russes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next unto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boristhenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of these, to wit, Rha, and Boristhenes yssuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiving many other pleasant rivers into it, & running from the very head or spring of it towards the East, after many crooked turnings and windings, dischargeth it selfe, and all the other waters and rivers that fall into it by divers passages into the Caspian Sea. Tanais springing from a fountaine of great name in those partes, and growing great neere to his head, spreds it selfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe,

doth so runne for certaine miles, untill it fall into another lake, which they call Ivan: and therehence fetching a very crooked course, comes very neere to the river Volga: but disdaining as it were the company of any other river, doth there turne it selfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at last into the Lake of Mœotis. Boristhenes, which comes from the same head that Rha doth, (as wee sayde before) carieth both it selfe, and other waters that are neere unto it, towards the South, not refusing the mixture of other small rivers: and running by many great and large Countreys fals at last into Pontus Euxinus. Besides these rivers, are also in Moscovie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fish by the celestiall influence: and amongst them all, the chiefest and most principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reason of a very strong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Moscovie reserve and repose their treasure in all time of warre and danger.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the snow lieth continually, and where hence in times past it was thought that Tanais the river did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and invented of olde, were there to be seene: our men which lately came from thence, neither sawe them, nor yet have brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the space of three moneths, and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of Moscovie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large & spacious woods, wherein is great store of Firre trees, a wood very necessarie, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wilde beastes bred in those woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolves, and another kinde of beast unknowen to us, but called by them Rossomakka: and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring foorth, it seeketh out some narrow place betweene two stakes, and so going through them, presseth it selfe, and by that meanes is eased of her burden, which otherwise could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the most part a horsebacke, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be so cold, that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which

they lay upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen: the diversitie growing suddenly to be so great, that in one and the selfe same fiebrand, a man shall see both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth still more & more increase by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde slake, untill the force of the Sunne beames doth dissolve the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going up onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eftsoones fell downe as men very neere dead, so great is the sharpenesse of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are somewhat more temperate.

Of Mosco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof.

It remaineth that a larger discourse be made of Mosco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince also, as before we have promised. The Empire and government of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And because the citie of Mosco is the chiefest of al the rest, it seemeth of it selfe to challenge the first place in this discourse. Our men say, that in bignesse it is as great as the Citie of London, with the suburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and fairenesse, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes and Villages also, but built out of order, and with no hansomnesse: their streetes and wayes are not paved with stone as ours are: the walles of their houses are of wood: the roofes for the most part are covered with shingle boords. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Castle, strong, and furnished with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is joyned directly towards the North, with a bricke wall: the walles also of the Castle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickenesse eighteene foote. This Castle hath on the one side a drie ditch, on the other side the river Moscua, whereby it is made almost inexpugnable. The same Moscua trending towards the East doth admit into it the companie of the river Occa.

In the Castle aforesaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether unhansome, which

are used and kept by certaine religious men, over whom there is after a sort, a Patriarke, or Governour, and with him other reverend Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Castle. As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neatest, onely in forme it is foure square, and of lowe building, much surpassed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houses of the kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and some of them by glasse, some other by lettisses admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there: they build and joyne to all their wals benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all private mens houses.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelve dayes in the Citie, there was then a Messenger sent unto them, to bring them to the Kings house: and they being after a sort wearied with their long stay, were very ready, and willing so to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there sate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and therehence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men beganne to wonder at the Majestie of the Emperour: his seate was aloft, in a very royall throne, having on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldsmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Scepter garnished, and beset with precious stones: and besides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Majestie in his countenance proportionable with the excellencie of his estate: on the one side of him stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of gold: and then there sate the Counsel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like sort arayed, and of great state. This so honorable an assemblie, so great a Majestie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well have amazed our men, and have dasht them out of countenance: but notwithstanding Master Chanceler being therewithall nothing dismaied saluted, and did his duetie to the Emperour, after the maner of England, and withall, delivered unto him the letters of our king, Edward the sixt. The Emperour having taken, & read the letters, began a litle to question with them, and to aske them

of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men answered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men presented some thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretary, which at the delivery of it, put of his hat, being before all the time covered: and so the Emperour having invited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence: and going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperour, & having stayed there the space of two howres, at the last, the Messenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for so they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour sitting upon an high and stately seate, apparelled with a robe of silver, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed over against him, sit downe: in the middes of the roome stoode a mightie Cupboord upon a square foote, whereupon stoode also a round boord, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and every steppe rose up more narrowe then another. Upon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was so much, that the very Cupboord it selfe was scant able to sustaine the waight of it: the better part of all the vessels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongst the rest, there were foure pots of very large bignesse, which did adorne the rest of the plate in great measure: for they were so high, that they thought them at the least five foote long. There were also upon this Cupbord certaine silver caskes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reserved the Emperours drinke: on each side of the Hall stood foure Tables, each of them layde and covered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company ascended by three steps or degrees: all which were filled with the assemblie present: the ghests were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich skinnes within, and so did notably set out this royall feast. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth first of all crosse himselfe upon his forehead: they that are in speciall favour with the Emperour sit upon the same bench with him, but somewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himselfe, according to an ancient custome of the kings of Moscovy, doth first bestow a piece of bread upon every one of his ghests, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour,

in this manner: The great Duke of Moscovie, and chiefe Emperour of Russia, John Basiliwich (& then the officer nameth the ghest) doth give thee bread. Whereupon al the ghests rise up, and by & by sit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Usher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of servants, carying the dishes, and having done his reverence to the Emperour, puts a yong Swanne in a golden platter upon the table, and immediatly takes it thence againe, delivering it to the Carver, and seven other of his fellowes, to be cut up: which being perfourmed, the meate is then distributed to the ghests, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Usher receives his bread, and tasteth to the Emperour, and afterward, having done his reverence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes, and drinking vessels, which were then for the use of a hundred ghests, was all of pure golde, and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold, that there was no roome for some to stand upon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. servitors arayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thrise their habit and apparell, which servitors are in like sort served with bread from the Emperour, as the rest of the ghests. Last of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his ghests and Noble men by their names, in such sort, that it seemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwise occupied in great matters of estate, should so well remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russes tolde our men, that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houshold: and withal, that such as are under his displeasure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the discipline of warre among the Russes.

Whensoever the injures of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, hee never armeth a lesse number against the enemie, then 300. thousand soldiers, 100. thousand whereof hee carieth out into the field with him, and leaveth the rest in garison in some fit places,

for the better safetie of his Empire. He presseth no husbandman, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the Realme is sufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe provide all things of their owne cost: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horsebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile w^tout is gilded, or els adorned with silke, although it pertaine to a common soldier: they have a great pride in shewing their wealth: they use bowes, and arrowes, as the Turks do: they cary lances also into the field. They ride with a short stirrop, after the maner of the Turks: They are a kinde of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremitie of cold, above all others. For when the ground is covered with snowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the frost, this Russe hangs up his mantle, or souldiers coate, against that part from whence the winde and Snowe drives, and so making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his serves him for his bed, wall, house and all: his drinke is colde water of the river, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himselfe well, and daintily fedde therewith, and so sitteth downe by his fire, and upon the hard ground, rosteth as it were his wearie sides thus daintily stuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, & some blocke or stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his master, faring both alike. How justly may this barbarous, and rude Russe condemne the daintinesse and nicenesse of our Captaines, who living in a soile & aire much more temperate, yet commonly use furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common souldiers. But those that are of higher degrees come into the field a little better provided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himselfe, it is then above all other times, most notable. The coverings of his tent for the most part, are all of gold, adorned with stones of great price, and with the curious workemanship of plumasiers. As often as they are to skirmish with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at all: they make no wings, nor militarie divisions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the most part, in ambush, doe suddenly set upon the enemie. Their horses can well abstaine two whole daies from any meate. They

feede upon the barkes of trees, and the most tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this scant and miserable maner of living, both the horse and his Master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two moneths, lustie, and in good state of body. If any man behave himselfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he bestoweth upon him in recompense of his service, some farme, or so much ground as he and his may live upon, which notwithstanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be never so many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peradventure the Emperour of his goodnesse, give some portion of the land amongst them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whosoever he be, that is in this sort rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when need shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whom any land fals by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreover, if there be any rich man amongst them, who in his owne person is unfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the unhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, deprived of all his riches, which with great paines and travell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then give that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour having taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deserts: and oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more the favour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he goe upon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadors of the Emperour of Moscovie.

The Moscovite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we have spoken of, sends his Ambassadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horses, and the greater part of the men were arayed in cloth of gold, and of silke, and the worst apparell was of garments of blewe colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and silver, and very curiously embrodered: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to use them at such times, as any wearinesse came upon them. But now the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscovites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Novogorode.

Next unto Mosco, the Citie of Novogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Majestie inferior to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest Marte Towne of all Moscovie: and albeit the Emperours seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the river, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: it yeeldes also hides, honie, and waxe. The Flemings there sometimes had a house of Marchandize, but by reason that they used the like ill dealing there, which they did with us, they lost their privileges, a restitution whereof they earnestly sued for at the time that our men were there. But those Flemings hearing of the arrivall of our men in those parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirats and rovers, wishing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceived feare, that they should never have returned home. But the Emperour beleeving rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemings, used no ill intreatie towards them.

Yeraslave.

YERASLAVE also is a Towne of some good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallow, and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there also to bee solde, although other places have greater store: this Yeraslave is distant from Mosco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld such store of corne, that in convaying it towards Mosco, sometimes in a forenoone, a man shall see seven hundred or eight hundred sleds, going and comming, laden with corne and salt fish: the people come a thousand miles to Mosco, to buy that corne, and then cary it away upon sleds: and these are those people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is so terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it spring up, it never comes to ripenesse. The commodities that they bring with them, are saltfish, skinnes, and hides.

Vologda.

VOLOGDA being from Mosco, 550. miles yeeldes the commodities of Hempe and Flaxe also: although the greatest store of Flaxe is solde at Novogrode.

Plesco.

THE Towne of Plesco, is frequented of Marchants for the good store of Honie and Waxe that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THE North parts of Russia yeelde very rare and precious skinnes: and amongst the rest, those principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women and Ladies: it hath also Martins skinnes, white, blacke, and red Foxe skinnes, skinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarously, as Bevers, Minxes, and Minivers. The sea adjoyning, breedes a certaine beast, which they call the Mors, which seeketh his foode upon the rockes, climing up with the helpe of his teeth. The Russes use to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. These commodities they cary upon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for

the sale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, serves all the Countrey about it with salt, and salt fish. The Russians also of the North parts, send thither oyle, which they call traine, which they make in a river called Una, although it be also made elsewhere: and here they use to boile the water of the sea, whereof they make very great store of salt.

Of controversies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

HAVING hitherto spoken so much of the chiefest Cities of Russia, as the matter required: it remaineth that we speake somewhat of the lawes, that the Moscovits doe use, as farre foorth as the same are come to our knowledge. If any controversie arise among them, they first make their Landlords Judges in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the Magistrate. The plaintif craveth of the said Magistrate, that he may have leave to enter law against his adversarie: and having obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a suretie for him: but if he be not of such credite, as to procure a surety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Judge. The Judge then asketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then saith the Judge, How canst thou deny it? the defendant answereth, By an othe: thereupon the officer is commaunded to cease from beating of him, untill the matter be further tried. They have no Lawyers, but every man is his owne Advocate, and both the complaint of the accuser, and the answere of the defendant, are in maner of petition delivered to the Emperour, intreating justice at his hands. The Emperour himselfe heareth every great controversie, and upon the hearing of it, giveth judgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthy of speciall commendation, in the Majestie of a Prince. But although he doe this with a good purpose of mind, yet the corrupt Magistrates do wonderfully pervert the same: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doeth punish them most severely. Now at the last, when ech partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the Judge demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any more to say for himselfe: he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight

by his Champion, or else intreateth, that in fight betwixt themselves the matter may be ended: which being graunted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them seeme unfit for that kinde of triall, then they have publike Champions to be hired, which live by ending of quarrels. These Champions are armed with yron axes, and speares, and fight on foote, and he whose Champion is overcome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly handled, untill he agree with his adversarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Judge granteth it: in which case they may not use publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be basely borne, and wil not fight with him. If a poore man happen to grow in debt, his Creditor takes him, & maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages he taketh up. And there are some among them, that use willingly to make themselves, their wives, and children, bondslaves unto rich men, to have a little money at the first into their hands, and so for ever after content themselves with meate and drinke: so little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of punishments upon theeves.

If any man be taken upon committing of theft, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with us: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be avoyded.

Of their religion.

They maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they suffer no graven images of saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they have in great abundance, which they do adore and offer unto, and burne waxe candles before them, and cast holy water upon them, without other honour. They say that our images which are set up in Churches, and carved, have no divinitie in them. In their private houses they have images for their houshold saints, and for the most part, they are put in

the darkest place of the house: hee that comes into his neighbours house doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any foorme or stoole stand in his way, hee oftentimes beateth his browe upon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worshippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priests, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is received and held amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of secular Priests, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whom then chastitie for ever is commanded. Their divine service is all done and said in their owne language, that every man may understand it: they receive the Lords Supper with leavened bread, and after the consecration, they carry it about the Church in a saucer, and prohibite no man from receiving and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They use both the Olde and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselves that doe reade, understand not what themselves doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is libertie given by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noise: but in the time of the rest of the service they use very great silence and reverence and behave themselves very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lords praier, the tenth man amongst them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the least very fewe of them doe either know them or can say them: their opinion is, that such secrete and holy things as they are should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements also are abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie they utterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Every yeere they celebrate foure severall fastes, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the first beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The second is called amongst them the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie.

And the fourth and last begins upon S. Philips day. But as we begin our Lent upon Wednesday, so they begin theirs upon the Sunday. Upon the Saturday they eate flesh: whensoever any of those fasting feastes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the same weeke they live altogether upon white meates, and in their common language they call those weekes, the fast of Butter.

In the time of their fasts, the neighbours every where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall love and Christian concord: and then also they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When seven dayes are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they doe often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselves at home, and use often prayer: and for that sevennight they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that sevennights fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable tospots. As for the keeping of their fasting dayes, they doe it very streightly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and salt fish, as long as those fasting dayes doe endure: but upon every Wednesday and Friday, in every weeke throughout the yeere, they fast.

There are very many Monasteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great livings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes doe at the least possesse the third part of the livings, throughout the whole Moscovite Empire. To those Monkes that are of this order, there is amongst them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fish, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eate any fresh fish at all: and at those foure fasting times, whereof we spake before, they eate no fish at all: onely they live with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause and take order to grow and spring, for their use and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small. For the discharge of their office, they do every day say service, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such observation begin their service,

that they will be sure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they have so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner they goe againe to service, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is some exposition or interpretation of the Gospel used.

Whensoever any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his housholde stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, silver, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succeede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all those things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are covered with shingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they usually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine house of wood, wherein they set up their bels, wherein sometimes they have but one, in some two, and in some also three.

There is one use and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle scroule, & in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, having received the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiving it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heaven, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Christians of the Latine church, reputing themselves to be followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Christians, and themselves onely to be the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Babarians.

Of the Moscovites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to Tartaria.

THERE is a certaine part of Moscovie bordering upon the countreys of the Tartars, wherin those Moscovites that dwell are very great idolaters: they have one famous idole amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife:

& they have a custome that whensoever any plague or any calamitie doth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe to consult with their idol, which they do after this maner: they fall down prostrate before the idol, & pray unto it, & put in the presence of the same, a cymbal: & about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: upon their cymball they place a silver tode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoever of those lotted persons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the devill, or idole, he is againe restored to life, & then doth reveale and deliver the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are delivered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their private houses, and of the apparell of the people.

The common houses of the countrey are every where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames doe so receive the round holownesse of the uppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is joined together, there they stop the chinks with mosse. The forme & fashion of their houses in al places is foure square, with streit and narrow windowes, whereby with a transparent casement made or covered with skinne like to parchment, they receive the light. The roofes of their houses are made of boords covered without with ye barke of trees: within their houses they have benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they sleepe upon, for the common people knowe not the use of beds: they have stooves wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the same fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole house.

The apparell of the people for the most part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like unto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe upward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a signe and representation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth supposed to be, and the greater reverence is given them by the common people.

The Conclusion to Queene Marie.

THESE are the things most excellent Queene, which your Subjects newly returned from Russia have brought home concerning the state of that countrey: wherfore if your majestie shall be favourable, and grant a continuance of the travell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be spred amongst those nations, whereunto three onely noble personages from the verie creation have had accesse, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moscovie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard Chancelour.

THE Almighty power of God, and the incomprehensible holy Trinitie, rightfull Christian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Ivan Vasilivich, by the grace of God great lord and Emperor of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novograd, King of Kazan, King of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Novograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslavely, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England, &c. according to our most hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, & according to our holy Christian faith, & great governance, & being in the light of great understanding, our answere by this our honourable writing unto your kingly governance, at the request of your faithfull servant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they shall let you wisely know, is this. In the strength of the twentieth yeere of our governance, be it knowen, that at our sea coastes arrived a shippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and sayd, that hee was desirous to come into our dominions, and according to his request, hath seene our Majestie, and our eyes: and hath declared unto us your Majesties desire, as that we should grant unto your subjects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our subjects, to frequent free Marts, with all sortes of marchandizes, and upon

the same to have wares for their returne. And they have also delivered us your letters, which declare the same request. And hereupon we have given order, that wheresoever your faithful servant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our diminions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arrived, as your servant Richard can declare.

And we with Christian beliefe and faithfulnes, and according to your honourable request, and my honourable commandement will not leave it undone: and are furthermore willing that you send unto us your ships and vessels, when and as often as they may have passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmelesse. And if you send one of your majesties counsel to treate with us whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they shall have their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our seale which we have commaunded to be under sealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the castle of Mosco, in the yeare 7060, the second moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moscovian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad seale hanging at the same, sealed in paper upon waxe. This seale was much like ye broad seale of England, having on the one side the image of a man on horseback in complete harnesse fighting with a dragon. Under this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moscovian letters. These letters were sent the next yere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, weights and measures used in Russia, written by John Hasse, in the yere, 1554.

Forasmuch as it is most necessary for al marchants which seeke to have traffique in any strange regions, first to acquaint themselves with the coines of those lands with which they do intend to joyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the highest piece to the lowest, and in what sort they make their paiments, as also what their common weights and measures be:

for these causes I have thought good to write some thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new adventure, may the better understand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will arise.

First, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Russia hath no other coines then silver in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongst merchants, yet notwithstanding there is a coine of copper, which serveth for the reliefe of the poore in Mosco, & no where els, and that is but only for quasse, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and such other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the least of the silver coines, 18. But I will not stand upon this, because it is no currant money among merchants.

Of silver coines there be three sortes of pieces: the least is a Poledenga, the second a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to say in English as halfepenie, penie, and twopence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forrein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they passe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in summing of money is this: as we say in England, halfpenie, penie, shilling and pound, so say they Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, six Dengaes to an Altine, and 23 Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

Concerning the weights of Russia they are these: There are two sorts of pounds in use amongst them, the one great, ye other small: the great pound is just two small pounds: they call the great weight by the name of Beasemar, and the smal they call the Skalla weight: with this smal weight they weigh their silver coines, of the which the Emperor hath commanded to put to every small pound three Rubbles of silver, and with the same weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almost al other wares which come into the land, except those which they weigh by the Pode, as hops, salt, iron, lead, tinne & batrie with divers others, notwithstanding they use to weigh batrie more often by the small weight then by the great.

Whensoever you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, consider that to be the great weight, and

the pound to be the small. Also they divide the small pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers sell their wares out of their shops, as Goldsmiths, Grocers, Silkesellers and such other like as we doe use to retaile by the ounce: and as for their great weight which they cal the Beasemar, they sel by pode, or shippond. The pode doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the smal 80: there goe 10. podes to a shippond.

Yet you must consider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but above 12 I thinke it be. But for your just proofe, weigh 6 Rubbles of Russia money with our pound weight, and then shal you see what it lacketh: for 6 Rubbles of Russia is by the Emperors standerd, the great pound: so that I thinke it the next way to know the just waight, as well of the great pound as of the small.

There is another weight needfull to be knowen, which is the weight of Wardhouse, for so much as they weigh all their drie fish by weight, which weight is the Beasemar, as they of Russia doe use, notwithstanding there is another sorte in it: the names of those weights are these: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the shippond. The marke pound is to be understood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: the weie is 3 great pound, and 8 weie is a shippound.

Now concerning their measures. As they have two sortes of weights, so they have also two sortes of measures: wherewith they measure cloth both linnen and wollen: they cal the one an Areshine, and the other a Locut: the Areshine I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their Locut halfe an English yard: with their Areshine they may mete all such sorts of clothes as come into the land, and with the Locut all such cloth both linnen and wollen, as they make themselves. And whereas we use to give yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do give nothing but bare measure.

They have also a measure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Osmine: this Setforth I take to bee three bushels of London measure. And as for their drinke measure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and

of that I never saw any true rate, but that some was greater then other some. And as for the measures of Wardhouse wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference between that and the measure of Danske, which is halfe an English ell.

Concerning the tolles & customs of Russia, it was reported to me in Moscovia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie custome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land, and above that they pay for all such goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which ye buyer or seller must make report to of the Master of the beame: they also pay a certaine horse toll, which is in divers places of his Realme foure pence of a horse.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithstanding for certaine offences, they had lost their priviledges which they have recovered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Justice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thousand Rubbles, and also that Rye, Dorpte and Revel have yeelded themselves under the government of the Emperour of Russia: whether this was a bragge of the Russes or not, I know not, but thus he sayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambassadour out of Liefland, for the assurance of their priviledges.

To speake somewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be understood, that there is a certaine place foure score miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there resorte all the sortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockfish, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of saltwater by the sea side: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they have great store which is brought out of the Bay where our shippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to sell, and the merchants there carie it to Novogrode, and so sell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockefish and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouse: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Mosco, and their drie fish they carrie to Novogrode, and sell it there to the Lieflanders.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beavers, Minkes, Armine, Lettis, Graies, Woolverings, and white Foxes, with Deere skinnes, they are

brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powstezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted savage people: and the merchants that bring these Furres doe use to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Batrie, & such other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Novogrode, Vologda, or Mosco, & sell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little esteeme.

If our merchants do desire to know the meetest place of Russia for the standing house, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all such wares as are raised in Rusland, but specially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is also great store of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko.

The towne of Vologda is meetest for our marchants, because it lieth amongest all the best towns of Russia, and there is no towne in Russia but trades with it: also the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themselves in Mosco or Novogrode, their charge will be great and wonderfull, but not so in Vologda: for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place so meet. It is likely that some will thinke ye Mosko to be the meetest by the reason of the court, but by that reason I take it to be woorse: for the charge there would be so great by cravers and expenses, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly consumed, which in the other place will bee saved. And yet notwithstanding our marchants may bee there in the Winter to serve the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himselfe of waxe and sables, which with good foresight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are litle or none in Moscovia, besides those above rehearsed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes considering the charges of cariage over land.

Our marchants may doe well to provide for the Russes such wares as the Dutch nation doeth serve them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeve, they shal serve better and with lesse charge then they of Rye or Dorpt, or Revel: for it is no smal adventure to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of these places,

and their charge not litle to cary them over lande to Novogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Russian miles.

This Novogrode is a place wel furnished with flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the best flaxe in Russia is brought thither and there sold by the hundred bundles, which is done also at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Novogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Novogrode, and when they heare of the utterance which they may have with our nation, they wil as willingly come to them as goe to other.

They have in Russia two sorts of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other small: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundels then the small: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the small flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a shippound, there goeth not of the greater sort above 22. or 24 at the most. There are many other trifles in Russia, as sope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

Articles conceived and determined for the Commission of the Merchants of this company resiant in Russia, and at the Warhouse, for the second voyage, 1555. the first of May, as followeth.

First, the Governour, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, jointly and severally to be Agents, Factors, and Atturneis generall and speciall, for the whole body of this companie, to buy, sel, trucke, change and permute al, and every kind and kindes of wares, marchandizes and goods to the said company appertaining, now laden & shipped in the good ship called the Edward Bonaventure, appointed for Russia, the same to utter and sell to the best commoditie, profit and advantage of the said corporation, be it for ready money, wares & marchandises, or truck, presently, or for time, as occasion & benefit of the company shal require: and all such wares as they or either of them shal buy, trucke, or provide, or cause to be bought for the company to lade them homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent course of marchandises, shall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth also to John Brooke for the Wardhouse, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commission appeareth.

2 Item, it is also committed, as above, to the said Agents, to binde & charge the said company by debt for wares upon credit, as good opportunitie and occasion shal serve, with power to charge and bind the said company, and their successors, for the paiments of such things as shalbe taken up for credite, and the said Agents to be relieved ab opere satis dandi.

3 Item full authoritie and power is committed to the said first named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to present the king and Queenes Majesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to give and exhibite the marchants presents at such time and place as shalbe thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly desire of ye Emperour such further grants and priviledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffike with his subjects, according to such instructions as bee in this behalfe devised and delivered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of these persons to attend upon the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shalbe thought good.

4 Item, that all the saide Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee delivered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behaviours of the people of the countreis where they shal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargaining, buying and selling, making as fewe debtes as possiblie may bee, and to bee circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor positive bee broken or transgressed by them or any minister under them, ne yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all tolles, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things passe with quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they shall arrive or traffique.

5 Item, that provision bee made in Mosco or elswhere, in one or mo good townes, where good trade shall be found for a house or houses for the Agents, and companie

to inhabite and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warehouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation soever he be, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to be given, and that every inferiour officer shalbe obedient to the orders, rules and governments of the said Agents, and in case any disobedient person shall be found among any of them, then such person to be punished for his misbehaviour, at the discretion of the said Agents, or of one of them in the absence of the óther.

6 Item, if any person of the said ministers shall be of such pride or obstinacie, that after one or two honest admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the saide Agents to displace every such person from the place or roume to him heere committed, and some other discreete person to occupie the same, as to the saide Agents by their discretions shal seeme meete.

7 Item, if any person shall bee found so arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the said Agents or by one of them in the absence of the other, then the sayde person to bee delivered to the Justice of the countrey, to receive such punishment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the saide Agents and factours shall daily one houre in the morning conferre and consult together what shall bee most convenient and beneficiall for the companie, and such orders as they shall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee provided for that purpose, and no inferiour person to infringe or breake any such order or devise, but to observe the same exactly, upon such reasonable paine as the Agents shall put him to by discretion.

9 Item, that the said Agents shall in the ende of everie weeke, or oftener as occasion shall require, peruse, see and trie, not onely the Casshers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the same with their handes, but also shall receive and take weekly the account of every other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empteous, and also of the state of the houshold expenses, making thereof a perfect declaration as shall appertaine, the same accounts also to bee firmed by the saide Agents hands.

10 Item, that no inferiour minister shall take upon him

to make any bargaine or sale of any wares, marchandises or goods, but by the Commission and Warrantise of the sayde Agents under their handes, and hee not to transgresse his Commission by any way, pretense or colour.

11 Item, that every inferiour minister, that is to understand, all Clerks and yong merchants, being at the order of the saide Agents, shall ride, goe, saile and travaile to all such place, and places, as they or hee shall be appointed unto by the saide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them shall be committed, well and truely to the most benefite of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, even as by their othes, dueties and bondes of their masters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at every moneths end, all accounts and reckonings shalbe brought into perfect order, into the Lidger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the privileges, and copies of letters, may and shall be well and truely written by the secretarie, in such forme as shalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be sent home with the said ship at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and observe all kinde of wares, as wel naturals as forrein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be sold for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of these West partes bee most vendible in those Realmes with profite, giving a perfect advise of all such things requisite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole masse of your stock, and will have the trade of it to utter to his owne subjects, then debating the matter prudently among your selves, set such high prises of your commodities, as you may assure your selves to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at such base prises, as you may here also make a commoditie and gaine at home, having in your mindes the notable charges that the companie have diffrayed in advancing this voyage: and the great charges that they sustaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which must bee requited by the wise handling of this voyage, which being the first president shalbe a perpetual president for ever: and therefore all circumspection is

to be used, and foreseene in this first enterprise, which God blesse and prosper under you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Majestie, and the Lords of the Councell have conceived great hope, whose expectations are not to be frustrated.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you use all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men may passe from Russia, either by land or by sea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ships, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well travailed persons, either naturall or forrein, such as have travailed from the North to the South.

16 Item, it is committed to the said Agents, that if they shall be certified credibly, that any of our said first ships be arrived in any place whereunto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the discretion of the Agents shall bee appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate & condition, to visite, refresh, relieve, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as oure deare and welbeloved brethren of this our societie, to their rejoycing and comfort, advertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their absence for their commoditie, no lesse then if they had bene present.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ships shal arrive at this going foorth at the Wardhouse, that their Agents, with master Chancelor grand pilot, John Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse, with John Buckland master of the Edward, John Howlet master, and John Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, shall conferre and consult together, what is most profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, & to consider whether they may bargaine with the captaine of the castle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongst the coast for a large quantity of fish, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reasonable for trucke of cloth, meale, salt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other season of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found sufficient lading for both the sayd shippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the

naturals for a continuance in hanting the place, if profit wil so arise to the company, and to consider whether the Edward in her returne may receive at the Wardhouse any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount unto, and whether it shall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouse the returne of the Edward out of Russia, or getting that she may returne with the first good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and so to conclude & accord certainely among themselves upon their arrivall, that the certaintie may (upon good deliberation) be so ordered and determined betweene both ships, that the one may be assured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ship, according to such order as shall be taken betweene them.

18 Item, that John Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouse take good advise of the rest of our Agents, how to use himselfe in al affaires, whiles the ship shalbe at the Wardhouse, he to see good order to be kept, make bargains advisedly, not crediting the people untill their natures, dispositions & fidelities shal be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be trusted then to trust. Note diligently what be the best wares for those parts, and howe the fishe falleth on the coast, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the most advantage, what kindes and diversities of sortes in fishes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caske.

19 Item, he to have a diligent eye & circumspection to the beere, salt, and other liquid wares, and not to suffer any waste to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require advise, counsel, and consent of the master and pilot, the marchant to be our houswife, as our speciall trust is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor customes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, absteine from all excesse of drinking as much as may bee, and in all to use and behave themselves as to quiet marchants doeth, and ought to apperteine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conveniently & profitably provided, bought, and

laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Wardhouse, as by the Agents shall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole advertisements of the marchants, with such further advise for the next yeeres provision, as they shall give.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inviolably to be observed, that when the good ships, or either of them (by Gods grace) shall returne home to the coastes of England, that neither of them shall stay or touch in any Haven or Port of England, otherwise then wind and weather shall serve, but shall directly saile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right discharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, chest, fardell, trusse, barrel, fat, or whatsoever thing it shall be, be brought out of the shippe, untill the companie shall give order for the same, and appoint such persons of the companie as shall be thought meet for that purpose, to take viewe, and consider the shippe and her lading, and shall give order for the breaking up of the saide bulke, or give licence by discretion, for things to be brought to land. And that every officer shall shewe the invoise of his charge to him first committed, and to examine the wastes and losses, and to deliver the remainder to the use and benefit of the company, according to such order as shall be appointed in that behalfe.

22 Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the said Agents, pilots, masters, marchants, clerkes, boatswaines, stewards, skafemasters, and all other officers and ministers of this present voyage, being put in charge and trust dayly to peruse, reade, and studie such instructions as be made, given, & delivered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Russia, Moscovia, Wardhouse, and other places, their dispositions, maners, customes, uses, tolles, cariages, coines, weights, numbers, measures, wares, merchandises, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be rejected and utterly abandoned, to the intent that every man taking charge, may be so well taught, perfited, and readily instructed in all the premisses, that by ignorance, no losse or prejudice may grow or chance to the company: assuring themselves, that forasmuch as the company hath travelled and laboured so in these their

instructions to them given, that every man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eschew all losses, hurts and damages that may insue by pretense or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allow, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or just cause of excuse, in that which shall be misordered by negligence, the burden whereof shall light upon the negligent offending person, especially upon such as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take upon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby prejudice may arise, without the commission of the Agents as above is mentioned, whereunto relation must be had.

23 Forasmuch as it is not possible to write and indite such prescribed orders, rules and commissions to the Agents and factours, but that occasion, time and place, and the pleasures of the princes, together with the operation or successe of fortune shall change or shift the same, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the said company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloved Agents and factors to doe in this behalfe for the commodity and wealth of this company, as by your discretions, upon good advised deliberations shalbe thought good and beneficiall. Provided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credite, and estimation of the same companie be conserved and preserved: which to confirme we beseech the living Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits, and your praises.

Finally for the service, and due accomplishment of all the premisses, every Agent and minister of and for this voyage, hath not onely given a corporall othe upon the Evangelists to observe, and cause to be observed, this commission, and every part, clause and sentence of the same, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other person, but also have bounde themselves and their friendes to the companie in severall summes of money, expressed in the actes and records of this societie, for the trueth and fidelities of them, for the better, and also manifester testification of the trueth, and of their othes, promises, and bands aforesaid, they have to this Commission subscribed particularly their severall hands, and the company also in confirmation of the same, have set their seale. Yeven the day, moneth, and yeeres first above mentioned.

The othe ministred to the servants of the fellowship.

Ye sweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye shal wel, faithfully and truely, and uprightly, and with all your indevour, serve this right worshipfull company in that order, which by this fellowships Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Russia, &c. shall bee unto you committed, by commission, commandement, or other his direction. And that you shall bee obedient and faithfull to the same our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and uprightly according to the commission, charge, commandement, or other direction of the said Agent or Agents to you from time to time given and to be given, you shall prosecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefite and profite of the said fellowship: and you shall not directly or indirectly, openly or covertly doe, exercise or use any trade or feate of marchandizes for your owne private account, commodity, gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any other person or persons, without consent or licence of this said fellowship, first obtained in writing. And if you shall know or understand any other person or persons to use, exercise or doe any trade, trafficke or feat of marchandise, to or for his or their own account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye shall truely and plainly disclose, open, utter and reveale, and shew the same unto this said fellowship, without fraude, colour, covin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies first Agent in Moscovie, touching their interteinement in their second voyage. Anno 1555. the 27. of November in Mosco.

Right worshipfull, my duetie considered, &c. It may please your worship to understand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, save onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the river out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 11. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares up, and sold very litle: but one marchant would have given us 12. robles for a broad cloth, & he said he would have had them all, and 4. altines for a pound of sugar, but we did refuse it because he

was the first, and the marchants were not come thither, nor would not come before Winter, trusting to have more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithstanding we did for the best. And the house that our wares lie in costs from that day until Easter ten robles. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our selves that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, Christopher Hudson, John Segewicke, Richard Johnson, and Richard Judde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Prise, Robert Best and I should goe to Mosco. And we did lade the Emperours suger, with part of all sort of wares to have had to the Mosco with us, but the way was so deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leave it stil at Vologda till the frost. And we went forth with poste horse, & the charge of every horse being stil ten in number, comes to 10.s. 7.d. halfe penie, besides the guides. And wee came to the Mosco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a simple house: but the next day we were sent for to the Emperour his secretarie, and he bade us welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and wee shewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he desired to see them all, and that they might remain with him, to have them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and so we did: and then we were appointed to a better house: and the seventh day the secretary sent for us againe, & then he shewed us that we should have a better house, for it was the Emperour his will, that we should have all things that we did lacke, and did send us meade of two sorts, and two hens, our house free, and every two dayes to receive eight hens, seven altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our house, & to doe that wherunto we would set him. And wee had given many rewards before, which you shal perceive by other, and so we gave the messengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were sent to make us readie to speak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were sent us, that wee might deliver them our selves, & we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of silver,

I meane, like washing bowles, all parsel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace sate, & there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, & shewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into this Realme, and we went one by one unto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid us goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were set with our faces towards his grace, & none in the chamber sate with their backes towards him, being I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all served with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not slender but very massy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, standing still on the cupboord, not moved: and divers times in the dinner time his grace sent us meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went up to his grace, and received a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen to us with divers sortes of wine and mede, to whome wee gave a rewarde. And afterwarde we were by divers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priviledges that we would desire to have, for feare it should not be written in the Russie tongue, as we did meane. So first a Russian did write for us a breviat to the Emperor, the tenour wherof was, that we did desire a stronger privilege: & when the Secretary saw it, he did deliver it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed us to write our minds, and hee would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet wee have no answere: but we have byn required of his Secretary, and of the under Chancelor, to know what wares we had brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to have, that are, or may bee had in this Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperor therof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best marchants of the Mosco should be spoken to, to meet and talk with us. And so a day was appointed, and wee mette in the

Secretarie his office, and there was the under Chancelor, who was not past two yeeres since the Emperors marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed us to bethinke us, where we would desire to have a house or houses, that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and for marchandize to be made preparation for us, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we coulde make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first sledway, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would give them justly, till we did knowe as well their just weights as their measures: for in all places where we did come, al weights and measures did vary. Then the Secretary (who had made promise unto us before) saide, that we should have all the just measures under seale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or sel with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said moreover, that if it so happen that any of our marchants do promise by covenant at any time to deliver you any certain sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, that then because of variance, we should cause it to be written, according as the bargain is, before a justice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe covenant & promise in all points, according to his covenant, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could justly prove that we have therby, he should make it good if he be worth so much: and in like case we must do to them: and to that we did agree, save onely if it were to come over the sea, then if any such fortune should bee (as God forbid) that the ship should mischance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that such kind of wares were laden, the English marchants to beare no losse to the other marchant. Then ye Chancelor said, me thinks you shall do best to have your house at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles from the right discharge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships shal come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000.

miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants shall bring all our marchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is salt, which is good ware here, that they may come loden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: for we shal neverthelesse, if we lust, have a house at Vologda, & at the Mosco, yea, & at Novogrode, or where we wil in Rusland: But the three & twentieth of this present we were with the secretary, and then among other talke, we moved, that if we should tary at Colmogro with our wares, and should not come to Vologda, or further to seeke our market, but tary stil at Colmogro, and then the marchants of the Mosco and others should not come and bring their wares, and so the ships should come, and not have their lading ready, that then it were a great losse and hinderance for us: then saide hee againe to us, that the marchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they should come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they should not find wares there sufficient to serve them, that then they should be at great loss and hinderance, they leaving their other trades to fal to that: and to that we did answere, that after the time that we do appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they should never come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they should find that our marchants would have at the least for a thousand robles, although the ships were not come: so that he saide, that then wee must talke further with the marchants: so that as yet I know not, but that we shall have neede of one house at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then wee shalbe sure to buy some at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres, and in this space we shall know the countrey and the marchants, and which way to save our selves best, and where to plant our houses, and where to seeke for wares: for the Mosco is not best for any kind of wares for us to buy, save onely waxe, which we cannot have under seven pence the Russe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I have bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I have bought

more, five hundred weight of yarne, which stands mee in eight pence farthing the Russe pound one with another. And if wee had received any store of money, and were dispatched heere of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we shalbe shortly (you know what I meane) then as soone as we have made sale, I doe intend to goe to Novogrode, and to Plesco, whence all the great number of the best tow flaxe commeth, and such wares as are there I trust to buy part. And feare you not but we will do that may be done, if God send us health, desiring you to prepare fully for one ship to be ready in the beginning of April to depart off the coast of England.

Concerning all those things which we have done in the wares, you shal receive a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth these from us is a marchant of Terwill and he was caused to cary these by the commandement of the Emperour his secretarie, whose name is Ivan Mecallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it please you to send any letters to Dantiske to Robert Elson, or to William Watsons servant Dunstan Walton to be conveyed to us, it may please you to inclose ours in a letter sent from you to him, written in Polish, Dutch, Latine or Italian: so inclosed, comming to the Mosco to his hands, he wil convey our letters to us wheresoever we be. And I have written to Dantiske already to them for the conveyance of letters from thence.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeres was never so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yesternight wee received a letter from Christopher Hudson from a citie called Yeraslave, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceive him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was delivered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did overthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was lost, which made us all very sory.

I pray you be not offended with these my rude letters for lacke of time: but assoone as sales be made, I will finde the meanes to convey you a letter with speed: for the way is made so doubtful, that the right messenger is so much in doubt, that he would not have any letters of any effect sent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of these: and to say the truth, the way is not for

him to travell in. But I will make another shift beside, which I trust shall serve the turne till he come, if sales be made before he be readie, which is and shall be as pleaseth God: who ever preserve your worship, and send us good sales. Written in haste.

By yours to commaund
GEORGE KILLINGWORTH
Draper.

A copie of the first Privileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Marchants in the yeere 1555.

JOHN Vasilivich, by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great duke of Novogrode, Moscovia, &c. To all people that shal see, reade, heare or understand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means therof traffike is used from one to another, and amity therby increased: and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can live in quietnes, so that it is as troublesome to be utterly wanting, as it is perceived to be grievous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conservation and maintenance thereof in health: considering also how needfull marchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is convenient for their living and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other things convenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the same commodities from divers quarters in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in every place (where entercourse of marchandizes is received and imbraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the injoyers thereof be as men living in a golden world: Upon these respects and other weighty and good considerations, us hereunto moving, and chiefly upon the contemplation of the gratious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the favour of her subjects, merchants, the

governour, consuls, assistants, and communaltie of merchants adventurers for discovery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace speciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, do give and grant as much as in us is and lieth, unto Sebastian Cabota Governour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Consuls: Sir John Gresham, &c. Assistants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowship, and to their successours for ever, and to the successours of everie of them, these articles, graunts, immunities, franchises, liberties and privileges, and every of them hereafter following, expressed and declared. Videlicet:

1 First, we for us, our heires and successors, do by these presents give and graunt free licence, facultie, authority and power unto the said Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and communalty of the said fellowship, and to their successors for ever, that all and singular the marchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, atturneys, servants, and ministers, and every of them may at all times hereafter for ever more surely, freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoever saile, come and enter into all and singular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, portes, jurisdictions and destraicts by sea, land or fresh waters, and there tary, abide and sojourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatsoever nation, rite, condition, state or degrees they be, and with the same or other ships, wares, marchandizes, goods & things whatsoever they be, unto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty by sea, land or fresh waters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and every part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, prest, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demanded, taxed, set, levied or inferred upon them or any of them, or upon their goods, ships, wares, marchandizes, and things, of, for or upon any part or parcell thereof, or upon the goods, ships, wares,

merchandizes, and things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne speciall of us, our heires or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subject unto us.

2 Item, we give and graunt to the said marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, marchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our jurisdiction, at any time heereafter attached, staied, arrested ne disturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or sureties, ne also, for any offence or trespasse committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen,) shall bee by us onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we give and graunt, that the said Marchants, shal and may have free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, choose and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, weighers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meet and necessary laborers for to serve them in their feat of marchandises, and minister and give unto them and every of them a corporall othe, to serve them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, vexation or disturbance, either of us, our heires or successors, or of any other our Justices, officers, ministers or subjects whatsoever.

4 Item, we give and graunt unto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shalbe commended unto us, our heires or successors by the Governour, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship resiant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and shal have ful power and authoritie to governe and rule all Englishmen that have had, or shall have accesse, or repaire in or to this said Empire and jurisdictions, or any part thereof, and shal and may minister unto them, and every of them good justice in all their causes, plaints, quarrels, and disorders

betweene them moved, and to be moved, and assemble, deliberate, consult, conclude, define, determine and make such actes, and ordinances, as he so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meete for the good order, government and rule of the said Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide empire and dominions, or any part thereof, and to set and levie upon all, and every Englishmen, offender or offenders, of such their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or imprisonment.

5 Item, if it happen that any of the saide Marchants, or other Englishman, as one or more doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him or themselves to obey them and every of them as shall appertaine, if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our saide Empire and jurisdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and every our officers, ministers, and subjects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies, and for their power shall really woorke, to bring such rebell or disobedient rebels, or disobedients to due obedience: And to that intent shall lende unto the same Factour or Factours, and their deputies upon request therefore to be made, prisons, and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6 Item, we promise unto the saide Marchants, and their successours upon their request to exhibite and doe unto them good, exact and favourable justice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them shall have accesse, or come to or before any of our Justices, for any their plaints mooved, and to bee mooved betweene any our subjects or other stranger, and them, or any of them, that then they shalbe first and forthwith heard, as soon as the party which they shal find before our Justices shalbe depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and assoone as may be, the said English marchants shall be ridde and dispatched: And if any action shall be moved by or against any of the said Marchants being absent out of our saide empire and dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Atturney in all and singular his causes to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt and promise to the saide Marchants,

and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) slaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof given, Wee and our Justices and other officers shall execute due correction and punishment without delay, according to the exigence of the case: so that it shall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it shall chaunce the factors, servants, or ministers of the saide Marchants or any of them to trespasse or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Masters shall not therefoore bee forfaited, confiscated, spoiled ne seised by any meanes by us, our heires or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subjects, but shall remaine to their use, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8 Item, we graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shal not be laid in prison, so farre as he can put in sufficient suretie and pawne: neither shall any sergeant, or officer leade them or any of them to prison, before he shall have knowen whether the chiefe Factor or factors, or their deputies shalbe sureties, or bring in pawne for such arrested: then the officers shal release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9 Moreover, wee give, graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, that if any of their ships or other vessels shall bee spoyled, robbed, or damnified in saying, anckoring or returning to or from our saide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoever hee or they bee, that then and in such case, wee will doe all that in us is to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to bee duely made to the said English marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our honour, and be consonant to equitie and justice.

10 Item, for us, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt to performe, mainteine, corroborate, autenticate, and observe all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priviledges, like as presently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autentike and performe the same by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of

the said English Marchants, and their successours for ever.

And to the intent that all and singuler the saide giftes, graunts and promises, may bee inviolably observed and performed, we the said John Vasilivich by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great Duke of Novogrode, Mosco, &c. for us, our heires and successors, by our Imperiall and lordly word in stead of an othe, have and doe promise by these presents, inviolably to mainteyne and observe, and cause to be inviolably observed and mainteined all and singuler the aforesayde giftes, graunts and promises from time to time, and at all and every time and times heereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof have caused our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Castle of Mosco the 20. day of in the yeere.

The Charter of the Marchants of Russia, graunted upon the discoverie of the saide Countrey, by King Philipe and Queene Marie.

Philip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all manner of officers, true Jurie men, ministers and subjects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elsewhere under our obeysance, jurisdiction, and rule, or otherwise unto whome these our letters shall bee shewed, seene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right trustie, right faithfull, and welbeloved Counsailors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our housholde, John Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our privie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our saide Realme of England, &c. Have at their owne adventure, costs and charges, provided, rigged, and tackled certaine ships, pinnesses, and other meete vessels, and the same furnished with all things necessary have advanced and set forward, for to discover, descrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and by our subjects before this not commonly by sea frequented, which by the sufferance and grace of Almightie God, it shall chaunce them sailing Northwards, Northeastwards, and Northwestwards, or

any partes thereof, in that race or course which other Christian Monarches (being with us in league and amitie) have not heeretofore by Seas traffiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their said adventure, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illustrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increase of the revenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our subjects of the same: And to this intent our subjects above specified and named, have most humbly beseeched us, that our abundant grace, favour and clemencie may be gratiously extended unto them in this behalfe: Whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foresaide our Counsailours, subjects and marchants, and willing to animate, advance, further and nourish them in their said godlie, honest, and good purpose, and, as we hope, profitable adventure, and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieve the same. Of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, have graunted, and by these presents doe graunt, for us, our heires and successours, unto our said right trustie, and right faithfull, and right welbeloved Counsailours, and the other before named persons, that they by the name of marchants adventurers of England, for the discovery of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and not before that late adventure or enterprise by sea or Navigation, commonly frequented as aforesaid, shalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowship and communaltie of themselves, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants adventurers for the discoverie of lands, territories, Iles & seigniories unknowen, and not by the seas, and Navigations, before their saide late adventure or enterprise by sea or Navigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by these presents, and that the same fellowship or communalty from henceforth shalbe, and may have one Governour of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchants adventurers.

And in consideration that one Sebastian Cabota hath bin the chiefest setter forth of this journey or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and constitute him the said Sebastian to be the first and present governour of the same fellowship and communaltie, by these presents. To have and enjoy the said office of Governour, to him the

said Sebastian Cabota during his naturall life, without amoving or dimissing from the same roome.

And furthermore, we graunt unto the same fellowship and communaltie and their successors, that they the saide fellowship and communaltie, and their successors after the decease of the saide Sebastian Cabota, shall, and may freely and lawfully in places convenient and honest, assemble themselves together, or so many of them as will or can assemble together, as well within our citie of London, or elsewhere, as it shall please them, in such sort and maner, as other worshipfull corporations of our saide citie have used to assemble, and there yeerely name, elect and choose one Governour or two, of themselves, and their liberties, and also as well yeerely during the natural life of the said Sebastian Cabota now Governour, as also at the election of such saide Governour or governours before his decease, to choose, name and appoint eight and twenty of the most sad, discreete, and honest persons of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchant adventurers, as is above specified, and 4. of the most expert and skilfull persons of the same 28. to be named and called Consuls, and 24. of the residue, to be named and called Assistants to the saide Governour or governours, and Consuls for the time being, which shal remaine and stand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it shall fortune the saide Governour, Consuls, and assistants, or any of them so to be elected, and chosen as is aforesaid, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and so often, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said fellowship, and communalty, to elect and choose of themselves other Governour or governours, Consuls and assistants, in the place and steade of such as so shall happen to die, to serve out the same yeere.

And further we do make, ordeine, and constitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our saide Citie, Anthonie Husie, and John Suthcot, to be the first and present 4. Consuls of the said felowship and communalty by these presents, to have and enjoy the said offices of Consuls to them the said George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Husie, & John Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after ye date of these our letters patents: And we doe likewise make, ordeine, and constitute Sir John Gresham

knight, Sir Andrew Judde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir John Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdson, John Hopkins, William Watson, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, John Ellot, John Sparke, Blase Sanders, & Miles Mording, to be the first and present 24. Assistants to the saide Governour or governours, and Consuls, and to the said fellowship and communaltie by these presents, to have and enjoy the said offices of assistants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of these our letters patents. And further, we for us, our heires and successors, as much as in us is, wil & graunt by these presents unto the saide Governour, Consuls, assistans, fellowship & company of Marchants adventurers aforesaid, & to their successors, that the said governour or governours, 4. Consuls, & 24. assistants, that now by these patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the saide fellowship & communaltie of marchants adventurers, or the more part of them, which shalbe then present, so from time to time to be chosen, so that there be 15. at the least wholy agreed therof, the said Governour or governors, or one of them, and 2. of the said Consuls shalbe there, and 12. of the residue of the said number of 15. shall be of the saide assistants, and in the absence of such Governour, that then 3. of the said Consuls, and 12. of the saide assistants at the least for the time being shal & may have, use and exercise ful power and authority to rule and governe all and singuler the Marchants of the said fellowship and communaltie, and to execute and doe full and speedie justice to them, and every of them, in all their causes, differences, variances, controversies, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions & jurisdictions onely moved, and to be moved touching their marchandise, traffikes, and occupiers aforesaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Also wee for us, our heires and successours, so much as in us is, doe likewise by these presents graunt, that the said Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie, and their successors shall and may have perpetuall succession, and a common Seale which shall

perpetually serve for the affaires and businesse of the saide fellowship and communaltie. And that they and their successours, shall and may bee for ever able persons, and capax in the lawe, for to purchase and possesse in fee and perpetuitie, and for terme of life or lives, or for terme of yeeres or otherwise, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and other possessions, and hereditaments whatsoever they bee, by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the Marchants adventurers by Seas and Navigations for the discoverie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and before the saide last adventure or enterprise by seas not frequented, as before is specified, and by the same names shall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and set the same or any part thereof to any person or persons able in the lawe to take and receive the same. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the same, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without speciall licence of us, our heires or successours, first had and obtained.

Also wee for us, our heires and successours have graunted, and by these presents doe graunt unto the saide Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the saide Marchants and to their successours, that they and their successours, shall and may lawfully purchase unto them and their successors for ever, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, of the cleare yeerely value of threescore sixe pounds, thirteene shillings & foure pence of lawful money of England and not above, as well of such lands, tenements and hereditaments, as bee holden or shall be holden of us, our heires or successours, as of any other person or persons, the statutes provided against alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clause in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, custome, statute or provision to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that they by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of Marchants adventurers, for the discoverie of lands territories, Isles, dominions and Seigniories unknowen by the Seas and Navigations, and not before the said late adventure or enterprise by seas frequented as aforesaid, shall and may be able in the law to implead, and be impleaded, to answere, and to be answered, to defende, and to be

defended before whatsoever Judge or Justice, temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoever, in whatsoever court, or courts, and in all actions personall, reall, and mixt, and in every of them, and in all plaints of novel disseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarels, affaires, businesses and demaunds whatsoever they bee, touching and concerning the saide fellowship and communaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe.

Moreover, wee for us, our heires and successours, have given and graunted, and by these presents doe give and graunt unto the said Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie of Marchants adventurers aforesaide, and to their successours, that the saide Governour, or Governours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, shall have full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordein, establish and erect all such statutes, actes and ordinaunces, for the governement, good condition, and laudable rule of the saide fellowship and communaltie of Marchants adventurers aforesaid, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, convenient and necessarie, and also to admit unto the saide Corporation and fellowship to be free of the same, such and as many persons, as to them shal bee thought good, meete, convenient and necessarie. And that every such person or persons, as shall fortune heereafter to bee admitted into the saide fellowshippe, communaltie and corporation, shal from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the same. And also wee will, and by these presents graunt for us, our heires and successours, unto the saide Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, communaltie of Marchants adventurers aforesaid, and to their successours, that the Governour, or governors, Consuls and assistants of the same, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, and their successours for the time being, shall, and may have full power and authoritie by these presents from time to time, as to them shal seeme good, to limite, set, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & imprisonments, or any of them upon any offender of the saide fellowship and communaltie, for any offence touching the same fellowship and communaltie, and also that all acts and ordinances

by them or their successours to bee made, which time shall thinke not necessarie or prejudiciall to the saide fellowship or communaltie, at al times to revoke, breake, frustrate, annihilate, repeale and dissolve at their pleasure and liberty. And further, wee will, that if any of the saide fellowship and communaltie shalbe found contrarious, rebellious, or disobedient to the saide Governour or governours, Consuls, and the said assistants for the time being, or to any statutes, acts or ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the saide Governour or governours, Consuls, and the saide assistants, in maner, forme, and number above specified, for the time being, shall and may by vertue of these presents, mulct, and punish every such offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requireth, according to their good discretions.

And further, we will that none of the saide offender or offenders shall decline from the power of the saide Governour, or governours, Consuls and assistants, in maner, forme, and number abovesaide for the time being: so alwayes, that the saide actes, statutes and ordinances, doe onely touch and concerne the saide Governour or governours, Consuls, assistants, and the saide fellowship and communaltie of our before named Marchants adventurers, or the men of the same fellowship and communaltie, and none other; And so alwayes, that such their acts, statutes and ordinances bee not against our prerogative, lawes, statutes, and customes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the severall duetie of any our subjects towards us, our heires and successours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by us or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by us, our heires and successours to bee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor also to the prejudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the prejudice of any person or persons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, justly pretending, clayming, or having any liberties, franchises, priviledges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of anie graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by us, or anie our Progenitours, heeretofore given, graunted, or made.

Moreover, we for us, our heires, and successours, will, and by these presents, doe graunt unto the said Governors, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of

our Marchants aforesaid, that their said Governour or governours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors for the time being, in maner, forme and number above rehearsed, shal have full power and authority to assigne, constitute and ordaine one officer, or divers officers as well within our aforesaide Citie of London, as also in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or else where within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the fellowship or communalty of the said marchants, and that the said sergeant or sergeants, shall and may have full power and authoritie by these presents, to take, levie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of every person and persons, of the saide fellowship and communaltie convict, and that shalbe convicted, upon or for breaking of any statutes, acts, ordinances, to bee made by the saide Governour or governours, Consuls and assistants for the time being.

And further, wee will and also graunt for us, our heires and successours, that the saide officer or officers shall have further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for disobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to set hands and arrest aswell the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of such offender, and offenders, & transgressers, in every place and places not franchised. And if it shall fortune any such offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other place franchised or priviledged, where the said officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, shirifes, baylifes, and other head officers, or ministers, within every such citie, borough, towne incorporate or place or places franchised, upon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the governour or governours, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship, in number and forme aforesaid, under the common seale of the sayd fellowship and communaltie for the time being, shall and may attach & arrest the body or bodies of such offender or offenders, as also take, and seise the goods and chattels of all and every such offender or offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and every such offender and offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and

every part therof so attached and seazed, shall according to the tenor and purport of the sayd precept, returne, and deliver unto the sayd officer or officers of the aforesaid fellowship, and communaltie.

And further, we will and grant for us, our heires and successours by these presents, that all, and every such Maior, shirife, baylite, or other head officers or ministers of any citie, borough, towne, incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not be impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, & certaine knowledge, for us, our heires, and successors, as much as in us is, have given and granted, and by these presents doe give and grant unto the sayd governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comminaltie of Marchants adventurers, and to their successors, and to the Factor and Factors, assigne and assignes of every of them, ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Isles, Islands, and coastes of the sea, wheresoever before their late adventure or enterprise unknowen, or by our Marchants and subjects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, under our banner, standerd, flags and ensignes, with their shippe, ships, barke, pinnesses, and all other vessels of whatsoever portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costs and expences, for to traffique, descrie, discover and finde, whatsoever Isle, Islands, countreis, regions, provinces, creekes, armes of the sea, rivers & streames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, king, prince, governor or Lord whatsoever he or they shalbe, and in whatsoever part of the world they be situated, being before the sayd late adventure or enterprise unknowen, and by our Marchants and subjects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, customes or statutes to our use, or to the use of our heires or successors for the same.

And we have also granted, and by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, doe graunt unto the sayd

Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and comminalty, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to every of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fasten our banners, standards, flags, and Ensignes, in whatsoever citie, towne, village, castle, Isle, or maine lande, which shall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesayde, and that the sayd fellowship and comminalty, and their successors, Factors & assignes and every of them shall and may subdue, possesse, and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Isles, and maine lands of infidelitie, which is or shall be by them, or any of them newly founde or descried, as our vassals and subjects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and jurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, Villages, Isles, and maine landes, which shall bee by them, or any of them newly discovered or found unto us, our heires and successours for ever.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our subjects in this last yeere attempted by Navigation, towards the discoverie and disclosure of unknowen places, Realmes, Islandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the three shippes by them set foorth for the voyage, and purpose above mentioned, named the Edward Bonaventure, to arrive, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our cousin and brother, Lord John Basilivich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomer, great duke of Moscovie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our love and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and marchants our subjects into his protection, and Princely presence, but also received and intertained them very graciously, and honourably, granting unto them by his letters addressed unto us, franke accesse into all his Seigniories and dominions, with licence freely to traffique in and out with all his Subjects in all kinde of Marchandise, with divers other gracious priviledges, liberties, and immunities specified in his sayde letters under his Signet: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall favour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and speciall grace, for us our heires and successours, have given and graunted, and by these presents doe give and grant unto the same Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comunalty above named, and to their successours, as much as in us is, that all the mayne

landes, Isles, portes, havens, creekes, and rivers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. And all and singuler other lands, dominions, territories, Isles, Portes, havens, creekes, rivers, armes of the sea, of al and every other Emperor, king, prince, ruler and governor, whatsoever he or they before the said late adventure or enterprise not knowen, or by our foresayd marchants and subjects by the seas, not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcell thereof lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as is aforesayd, by sea shall not be visited, frequented, nor hanted by any our subjects, other then of the sayd company and felowship, and their successours without expresse licence, agreement and consent of the Governour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship and communaltie above named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforesayd, for the time being, upon paine of forfeiture and losse, as well of the shippe and shippes, with the appurtenances, as also of all the goods, marchandises, and things whatsoever they be, of those our subjects, not being of the sayd felowship and communalty, which shall attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which bee, or hereafter shall happen to bee found, and traffiked unto: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the use of us, our heires and successors, and the other halfe to be to the use of the sayd fellowship and communaltie. And if it shall fortune anie stranger or strangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the same marchants, their factors, deputies or assignes, or any of them in sailing, going or returning at any time in the sayd adventure, or for to saile or trade to or from any those places, landes or coastes, which by the sayd marchants, their factors, deputies and assignes have bene, or shall bee descried, discovered and found, or frequented, aswell within the coastes and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the sayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and every other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and governour whatsoever he or they be, before the sayd late adventure or enterprise not knowen by any our said marchants and subjects, by the seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northwestwards or Northeastwards as aforesaid, then wee will and grant, and by these presents doe licence, and authorise for us, our heires and successors,

the said marchants, their factors, deputies, and assignes, and every of them to doe their best in their defence, to resist the same their enterprises and attempts. Willing therefore, and straightly commanding and charging al and singuler our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Escheators, Constables, Bailifes, and all and singuler other our ministers and liege men, and subjects whatsoever, to bee aiding, favouring, helping & assisting unto the sayd governour or governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalty, and to their successeors and deputies, factors, servants, and assignes, and to the deputies, factors and assignes of every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses, as well on land as in the sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you shall be thereunto required. In witnesse whereof, &c.

Apud Westmonasterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum nostrorum, primo & secundo.

Certaine instructions delivered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for Russia, to every Purser and the rest of the servants, taken for the voyage, which may serve as good and necessary directions, to all other like adventurers.

1 First you shall before the ship doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and shall there take, and write one inventorie, by the advise of the Master, or of some other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, shot, powder, artillerie, and of all other necessaries whatsoever doth belong to the sayd ship: and the same justly taken, you shall write in a booke, making the sayd Master, or such officer privie of that which you haveso written, so that the same may not be denied, when they shall call accompt thereof: that done, you shall write a copie of the same with your owne hand, which you shall deliver before the shippe shall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper there to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be justly answered the same, when time shall require: and this order to be seene and kept every voyage orderly, by the Pursers of the companies owne ship, in any wise.

2 Also when the shippe beginneth to lade, you shall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter such goods as shall be brought aboord, to be laden for the company, packed, or unpacked, taking the markes and numbers

of every packe, fardell, trusse, or packet, corovoya, chest, fatte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caske, maunde, or basket, or any other thing, which may, or shall be packed by any other manner of waies or devise. And first, all such packes, or trusses, &c. as shal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you shall doe the best to let that the same be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the same is, that is so brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of such goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as also to send or bring word thereof to the Agent, and to some one of the foure Marchants with him adjoined so speedily as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this river, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforesaid: and when the sayd shippe hath received in all that the companies Agent will have laden, you shal make a just copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of every thing plainely, which you shall likewise deliver to the sayd bookekeeper to the use aforesayd.

3 Also when the ship is ready to depart, you shall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and shall shew him all such letters as you have received of any person or persons privately or openly, to be delivered to any person or persons in Russia or elsewhere, and also to declare if you know any other that shall passe in the ship either master or mariner that hath received any letters to be privily delivered to any there, directed from any person or persons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters so by you received, you shall not carie with you, without you be licenced so to doe by the Agent here, and some of the foure merchants, as is aforesayd: and such others as do passe, having received any privie letters to be delivered, you shal all that in you lieth, let the deliverie of them at your arriving in Russia: and also if you have or do receive, or shal know any other that doth or hath received any goods or ready money to be imployed in Russia, or to bee delivered there to any person or persons from any person or persons, other then such as bee the companies goods, and that under their marke, you shall before the ship doeth depart, declare the same truely to the sayd

Agent, and to some of the other merchants to him adjoyned, as it is before declared.

4 Also when the shippe is ready to depart, and hath the master and the whole company aboord, you shall diligently foresee and take heede, that there passe not any privie person or persons, other then such as be authorized to passe in the said ship, without the licence and warrant of one of the Governours and of the assistants, for the same his passage, to be first shewed. And if there be any such person or persons that is to passe and will passe without shewing the same warrant, you shall let the passage of any such to the uttermost of your power: And for that there may no such privie person passe under the cloke and colour of some mariner, you shall upon the weying of your ships anker, call the master and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may see that you have neither more nor lesse, but just the number for the voyage.

5 Also you must have in remembrance, that if it shall chance the shippe to bee put into anie harbour in this coast by contrary windes or otherwise in making the voyage, to send word thereof from time to time as the case shall require, by your letters in this maner. To master I. B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he must have for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you shall do very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally see that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and evening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage will have the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better.

7 Also in calme weather and at other times when you shall fortune to come to anker in the seas during the voyage, you shall for the companies profite, and for the good husbanding of the victuals aboord, call upon the Boateswaine and other of the company to use such hookes and other engines as they have aboord to take fish with, that such fish so taken may bee eaten for the cause aforesayd: and if there bee no such engines aboord, then to provide some before you goe from hence.

8 And when God shall send you in safetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you shall goe a shore with the first boate that shall depart from the ship, taking with you such letters as you have to deliver to the Agent there: and if he be not there at your comming a land, then send the companies letters to Colmogro to him by some sure mariner or otherwise, as the master and you shall thinke best, but goe not your selfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ship, unlesse it bee a shore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ship that you be appointed in, which you shall applie diligently to have done so speedily as may be. And for the discharging of the goods therein in the Bay, to be carried from thence, see that you doe looke well to the unlading thereof, that there be none other goods sent a shore then the companies, and according to the notes entred in your booke as is aforesaid: if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiver of the sayd goods, in such sort that the company may have the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Also there a shore, and likewise aboord, you shall spie and search as secretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and selling there is with the master and the mariners of the shippe and the Russes, or with the companies servants there: and that which you shall perceive and learne, you shall keepe a note thereof in your booke secretly to your selfe, which you shall open and disclose at your comming home to the governours and assistants, in such sorte as the trueth of their secret trades and occupyings may be revealed and knowen. You shal need alwayes to have Argos eyes, to spie their secret packing and conveyance, aswell on land as aboord the shippe, of and for such furres and other commodities, as yeerely they doe use to buy, packe and convey hither. If you will bee vigilant and secrete in this article, you cannot misse to spie their privie packing one with another, either on shore or aboord the shippe: worke herein wisely, and you shall deserve great thanks of the whole company.

10 Also at the lading againe of the shippe, you shall continue and abide abord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all such goods and marchandises as shall be brought and laden, which you shall orderly

note in all sortes as heretofore, as in the second article partly it is touched: and in any wise put the Master and the company in remembrance, to looke and foresee substantially to the roomaging of the shippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you shall see and thinke will serve for the best.

11 Thus when the shippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a shore to the Agent for your letters, and dispatch away: you shall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the trueth therof, you shal repaire to the companies storehouse there at S. Nicholas, to see if there be any goods left in the sayd storehouse: if there be, you shal demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be so left: and seeing any of the shippes there not fully laden, you shall put the Agent in remembrance to lade those goods so left, if any such be to be laden, as is aforesayd. And thus God sending you a faire wind, to make speede and away.

12 Finally, when God shall send you to arrive againe upon this coast in safetie, either at Harewich, or elsewhere, goe not you aland, if you may possiblie, to the ende that when you be gone a shore, there may no goods be sent privily ashore to be solde, or else to be solde aboord the ship in your absence, but keepe you still aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the causes aforesaid, and write the company a letter from the shippe of your good arrivall, which you may convey to them by land by some boy or mariner of the shippe, or otherwise as you shall thinke best: and likewise when God shall send you and the shippe into the river here, doe not in any wise depart out of the shippe that you be in, until the company doe send some other aboord the shippe, in your steede and place, to keepe the shippe in your absence.

The Navigation and discoverie toward the river of Ob, made by Master Steven Burrough, Master of the Pinnesse called the Serchthrift, with divers things worth the noting passed in the yere 1556.

We departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Satturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

The 27 being Munday, the right Worshipfull Sebastian Cabota came aboord our Pinnesse at Gravesende, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on shore, giving to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the good olde Gentleman Master Cabota gave to the poore most liberall almes, wishing them to pray for the good fortune, and prosperous successe of the Serchthrift, our Pinnesse. And then at the signe of the Christopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere: and for very joy that he had to see the towardnes of our intended discovery, he entred into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed most gently, commending us to the governance of almighty God.

Tuesday we rode still at Gravesend, making provision for such things as we wanted.

Wednesday in the morning we departed from Gravesende, the winde being at Southwest, that night we came to an anker thwart our Lady of Hollands.

Thursday at three of the clocke in the morning we weyed, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonaventure, where the worshipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, untill the sayd good ship arrived at Wardhouse. Then I returned againe into the pinnesse.

Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the shore, on the coast of Norway: the latitude at a South sunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we saw three sailes, beside our owne company: and thus we followed the shoare or land, which lieth Northnorthwest, North and by West, and Northwest and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat.

Saturday at an East sunne we came to S. Dunstans Island, which Island I so named. It was off us East two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeast: the latitude this day at a South sunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Also the high round mountaine bare East of us, at a south sunne: and when this hill is East of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lyeth North and halfe a point Westerly, from this sayd South sunne,

unto a North sunne twenty leagues Northwest alongst the shoare.

Upon Sunday at sixe of the clocke in the morning, the farthest land that we could see that lay Northnorthwest, was East of us three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eastwards of the North, which headland I judged to be Scoutsnesse. At seven of the clocke we changed our course and went North, the wind being at Southsoutheast, and it waxed very thick and mistie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheast. At a South sunne we lost sight of the Serchthrift, because of the mist, making our way North. And when we lost sight of the shoare and pinnesse, we were within two leagues & a halfe of the shoare: the last land that we saw when this mist came upon us, which is to the Northwards of Scowtsnesse, lay Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and we made our way North untill a west sunne five leagues.

From that untill Munday three a clocke in the morning ten leagues Northnortheast: and then we went North and by East, because the winde came at the Westsouthwest with thicke miste: the latitude this day at a South sunne sixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this season we had sight of our Pinnesse againe.

From that untill Tuesday a South sunne Northnortheast fortie foure leagues, and then Northeast. From a South sunne untill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeast.

From that untill Wednesday a South sunne Northnortheast, except the first watch Northeast: then had we the latitude in sixtie seven degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that unto a Northwest sunne eighteen leagues Northeast, & then we were within two leagues off the shore, and saw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot breake out through the mist, and then we went North and by east.

From the sayd Northwest sunne untill foure of the clocke in the morning North and by East ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheast untill a South sunne, the latitude being sixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that untill halfe an houre past seven of the clocke, Northnortheast eleven leagues and a halfe, and then we went Northeast ten leagues. From that 3 leagues and a halfe Eastnortheast, and then we sawe the land through

the cloudes and hazie thwart on the broad side of us the winde being then at Southsouthwest.

From that untill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning Eastnortheast, and to the Northwards fortie eight leagues, and then the wind came up at North, wee being aboord the shore, and thwart of the Chappel, which I suppose is called Kedilwike: then we cast the shippes head to the seawards, because the winde was verie scant: and then I caused the Pinnesse to beare in with the shore, to see whether she might find an harborough for the ships or not, and that she found and saw two roaders ride in the sound: and also they sawe houses. But notwithstanding, God be praysed, the winde enlarged upon us, that we had not occasion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinnesse bare her Myssen mast over boord with flagge and all, and lost the flagge: with the mast there fell two men over boord, but God be praised, they were saved: the flagge was a token, whereby we might understand whether there were a good harbour there or not.

At a North sunne the North cape (which I so named the first voyage) was thwart of us, which is nine leagues to the Eastwards of the foresayd Chappel from the Eastermost point of it.

June.

The sunday we weied in Corpus Christi Bay, at a Northeast and by East sunne: the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Christi point, lyeth Southeast and by East, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race over the flood: the Bay is at the least two leagues over: so doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Christi poynt ten leagues Southeast and by East: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by West moone full sea. From that we went untill seven a clocke at after noone twentie leagues Southeast and by South: and then we tooke in all our sailes, because it was then very mistie, and also we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went Southsoutheast with our foresayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade us farewell, and then we shot off another piece, and bade her farewell: wee could not one see the other, because of the thicke miste: at

a Northwest sunne it began somewhat to cleere, and then we sawe a head lande, and the shoare trended to the Southwestward, which I judged to be about Crosse Island: it was off us at a Northnorthwest sunne, Westsouthwest.

From this Northnorthwest sunne, untill Munday, we went Southeast, and this morning we came at anker among the shoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a Northeast and by East sunne, the wind being at Eastsoutheast. At this poynt Looke out, a south Moone maketh a full sea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Isle of Crosses Southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune Eastsoutheast, and betweene them are sixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke out Eastsoutheast, and halfe a point to the Southwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales and dangers. At a Southeast sunne we weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at Eastsoutheast: and at a Southeast sunne, we came to an anker, being then a full sea, in five fadoms and a halfe water. It hieth at this place where we roade, and also at point Looke out, foure fadome water. At a Westnorthwest sunne we weyed, and drived to the windewards, untill Tuesday, a Northnortheast sunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the river Cola, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmonds point, Southeast and by South, and betwixt them are sixe leagues, and also betwixt them is the River Cola, into which River wee went this evening.

Wednesday we roade still in the sayd river, the winde being at the north: we sent our skiffe aland to be dressed: the latitude of the mouth of the river Cola is sixtie five degrees, fortie and eight minutes.

Thursday at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of us one of the Russe Lodiaes, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twenty men in her. The master of the boate presented me with a great loafe of bread, and sixe ringes of bread, which they call Colaches, and foure dryed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gave unto the Master of the boate, a combe, and a small glasse: and he declared unto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made

them to drinke, the tide being somewhat broken, they gently departed. The Masters name was Pheodor.

Whereas the tenth day I sent our Pinnesse on shoare to be mended, because she was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced so, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our shippe. All that time they were without provision of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to have come aboord when they had listed, but winde and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grasse, and such weedes as they could finde then above grounde, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queazie stomackes.

From Thursday at afternoone, untill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride such a road sted that it was to be marveiled, without the helpe of God, how she was able to abide it.

In the bight of the Southeast shoare of the river Cola, there is a good roade in five fadome, or foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you shall have no land Northnortheast of you then. I proved with our pinnesse, that the depth goeth on the Southeast shoare.

Thursday we weyed our ankers in the River Cola, and went into the Sea seven or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it constrained us to goe againe backe into the sayd river, where came aboord of us sundry of their Boates, which declared unto me that they were also bound to the northwards, a fishing for Morse, and Salmon, and gave me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

As we roade in this river, wee sawe dayly comming downe the river many of their Lodias, and they that had least, had foure and twenty men in them, and at the last they grew to thirtie saile of them: and amongst the rest, there was one of them whose name was Gabriel, who shewed me very much friendshippe, and he declared unto mee, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fishing for Salmons, and Morses: insomuch that hee shewed mee by demonstrations, that with a faire winde wee had seven or eight dayes sailing to the River Pechora, so that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel promised to give mee warning of shoales, as hee did indeede.

Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gave me a barrell of Meade, and one of his speciall friends gave me a barrell of beere, which was caryed upon mens backes at least 2 miles.

Munday we departed from the river Cola, with all the rest of the said Lodias, but sailing before the wind, they were all too good for us: but according to promise, this Gabriel and his friend did often strike their sayles, and taried for us forsaking their owne company.

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we were thwart of Cape S. John. It is to be understood, that from the Cape S. John unto the river or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all sunke land, and full of shoales and dangers, you shall have scant two fadome water, and see no land. And this present day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the sayd Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were above 20 saile that went into the sayd creeke, the wind being at the Northeast. We had indifferent good landfang.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his skiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with us over the shoales with two small ivory combes, and a steele glasse, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not ungratefull. But notwithstanding, his first company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wednesday being Midsummer day, we sent our skiffe aland to sound the creeke, where they found it almost drie at a low water. And all the Lodais within were on ground.

Although the harborough were evil, yet the stormie similitude of Northerly winds tempted us to set our sayles, & we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in such journeis varieties do chance, when we came upon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did shrink so suddenly upon us, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could have flatted the shippe before the winde, we should have bene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker under our sailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to have warpt in. Gabriel came out

with his skiffe, and so did sundry others also, shewing their good will to helpe us, but all to no purpose, for they were likely to have bene drowned for their labour, in so much that I desired Gabriel to lend me his anker, because our owne ankers were two big for our skiffe to lay out, who sent me his owne, and borrowed another also and sent it us. Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to have warpt in, but it would not be: for as we shorted upon ye saide warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in upon the other small anker that Gabriel sent aboord, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we traversed the ships head to seawards, and set our foresaile and maine sayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tryed out al that day with our maine corse.

The Thursday we went roome with Cape S. John, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northnortheast wind, and for a neede, for a North and by West winde.

Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at Eastsoutheast, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawser: & as soone as we were at an anker, the foresaid Gabriel came aboord of us, with 3 or foure more of their small boats, and brought with them of their Aquavitæ & Meade, professing unto me very much friendship, and rejoiced to see us againe, declaring that they earnestly thought that we had bene lost. This Gabriel declared unto me, that they had saved both the ankers and our hauser, and after we had thus communed, I caused 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gave them figs, and made them such cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of them, there came another of their skiffes aboord with one who was a Keril, whose name afterwards I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, & Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola, which is not far from the rivers mouth. This foresaid Keril said unto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gave him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene sufficient. And as I continued in one accustomed maner, that if the present which they brought were worth enterteinment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing

with him, & therfore I regarded him but litle. And thus we ended, & they took their leave and went a shore. At their comming ashore, Gabriel and Keril were at unconvenient words, and by the eares, as I understand: the cause was because the one had better enterteinment then the other: but you shal understand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, because there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the least, and all of them belonging to the river Cola.

And as I understood Keril made reckoning that the hawser which was fast in his anker should have bene his owne, and at first would not deliver it to our boat, insomuch that I sent him worde that I would complaine upon him, whereupon he delivered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their comming on shore this Keril welcomed our men most gently, and also banketed them: and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to help our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his best silke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, & brought his present with him: and thus having more respect unto his present then to his person, because I perceived him to be vainglorious, I bade him welcome, and gave him a dish of figs: and then he declared unto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a priests sonne.

After their departure from us we weied, and plyed all the ebbe to the windewards, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very stormie, so that of force we were constrained to go roome with Cape S. John againe, in which storme wee lost our skiffe at our sterne, that wee bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode until the fourth of July. The latitude of Cape S. John is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. John is of height from the full sea marke, as I judge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, & also without stones or rockes, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any fall into

the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not have above 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

Julie.

SATURDAY at a Northnorthwest sunne the wind came at Eastnortheast, & then we weied, and plied to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is dainty to be seene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hil. Then I judged them, as it afterwards proved, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin for their furres, which trappes we did perceive very thicke alongst the shore as we went.

Sunday at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Russes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiving the most part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

Munday at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Russe Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hilles, which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. John.

Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker, 6 leagues Northnortheast from the place where we saw the Russes come out: and there the Russes harboured themselves within a soonke banke, but there was not water enough for us.

At a North sunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, untill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe.

At a Northwest sunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where wee had good plenty of fish, both Haddocks and Cods, riding in 10 fadom water.

Wednesday we weyed, and plyed neerer the headland,

which is called Caninoz, the wind being at East and by North.

Thursday the wind being scant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degrees 40 minutes.

Friday we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anker, we saw the similitude of a storme rising at Northnorthwest, & could not tell where to get rode nor succor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: & that land which we rode under with that winde was a lee shore. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke under the foresayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere us as he might, and pointed us to the Eastwards, & then we weyed and followed him, and went East and by South, the wind being at Westnorthwest, and very mistie.

Saturday we went Eastsoutheast & followed Gabriel, and he brought us into an harborough called Morgiovets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, & we had upon the barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were past in over the barre, it waxed deeper, for we had 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being mored, I sent some of our men to shoare to provide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gulles, Seapies, and others, whereof the Russes would eate none, whereof we were nothing sory, for there came the more to our part.

Sunday our men cut wood on shoare, and brought it aboord, and wee balasted our shippe with stones.

This morning Gabriel saw a smoke on ye way, who rowed unto it with his skiffe, which smoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northwest sunne he came aboord again, and brought with him a Samoed, which was but a young man: his apparell was then strange unto us, and he presented me with three young wild geese, and one young barnacle.

Munday I sent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought us aboord 8 barricoes of fresh water: the latitude of the said Morgiovets is sixtie eight degrees and a terce. It floweth there at a Southsouthwest moone full sea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water.

At a Westnorthwest sunne we departed from this place, and went East 25 leagues, and then saw an Island North and by West of us eight leagues, which Island is called Dolgoieve: and from the Eastermost part of this Island, there lyeth a sand East and by South 7 leagues long.

Wednesday at a North and by East sunne Swetinoz was South of us 5 leagues. This day at afternoone we went in over the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had upon the barre but one fadome water.

Thursday we road still.

Friday I went on shoare and observed the variation of the Compasse, which was three degrees and a halfe from the North to the West: the latitude this day was sixtie nine degrees ten minutes.

From two or three leagues to the Eastward of Swetinoz, untill the entering of the river Pechora, it is all sandy hilles, and towards Pechora the sandie hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, & it floweth there at a Southwest moone a full sea.

Munday at a North & by East sunne, we weyed, and came out over the sayd dangerous barre, where wee had but five foote water, insomuch that wee found a foote lesse water comming out then wee did going in. I thinke the reason was, because when we went in the winde was off the sea, which caused the sands to breake on either side of us, and wee kept in the smoothest betweene the breaches, which we durst not have done, except we had seene the Russes to have gone in before us: and at our comming out the winde was off the shoare, and fayre weather, and then the sands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ship did draw so little water.

When we were a seaboord the barre the wind scanted upon us, and was at Eastsoutheast, insomuch that we stopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eastnortheast.

Tuesday at a Northwest sunne we thought that we had seen land at East, or East & by North of us: which afterwards prooved to be a monstrous heape of ice.

Within a little more then halfe an houre after, we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see: for, for the space of sixe houres, it was as much as we could doe

to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarse. And when we had past from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind.

The next day we were againe troubled with the ice.

Thursday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes.

We had not runne past two houres Northwest, the wind being at Northnortheast and Northeast and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the seawards, and made way West 6 leagues.

Friday at a Southeast sunne we cast about to the Eastwards, the wind being at Northnortheast: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

On S. James his day bolting to the windewardes, we had the latitude at noone in seventy degrees twentie minutes. The same day at a Southwest sunne, there was a monstrous Whale aboord of us, so neere to our side that we might have thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare hee should have overthrowen our shippe: and then I called my company together, and all of us shouted, & with the crie that we made he departed from us: there was as much above water of his backe as the bredth of our pinnesse, and at his falling downe, he made such a terrible noyse in the water, that a man would greatly have marvelled, except hee had knowen the cause of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly delivered of him. And a little after we spied certaine Islands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and black oze: we came to an anker at a Northeast sunne, & named the Island S. James his Island, where we found fresh water.

Sunday, much wind blowing we rode still.

Munday I went on shoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compasse was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the West.

Tuesday we plyed to the Westwards alongst the shoare, the wind being at Northwest, and as I was about to come to anker, we saw a sayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to have ankered. Then I sent a skiffe

aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man said hee had bene in our company in the river Cola, and also declared unto them that we were past the way which should bring us to the Ob. This land, sayd he, is called Nova Zembla, that is to say, the New land: and then he came aboord himselfe with his skiffe, and at his comming aboord he told mee the like, and sayd further, that in this Nova Zembla is the highest mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Boldshay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I saw it not: he made me also certaine demonstrations of the way to the Ob, and seemed to make haste on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, because the yeere was farre past, and his neighbour had fet Pechora, and not he: so I gave him a steele glasse, two pewter spoones, and a paire of velvet sheathed knives: and then he seemed somewhat the more willing to tary, and shewed me as much as he knew for our purpose: he also gave me 17 wilde geese, and shewed me that foure of their lodias were driven perforce from Caninoze to this Nova Zembla. This mans name was Loshak.

Wednesday, as we plied to the Eastwards, we espied another saile, which was one of this Loshaks company, and we bare roome, and spake with him, who in like sort tolde us of the Ob, as the other had done.

Thursday, we plied to the Eastwards, the winde being at Eastnortheast.

Friday, the gale of winde began to increase, and came Westerly withall, so that by a Northwest sunne we were at an anker among the Islands of Vaigats, where we saw two small lodias, the one of them came aboord of us, and presented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who seemed to be the chiefest among them in killing of the Morse.

There were some of their company on shoare, which did chase a white beare over the high clifs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of us killed in our sight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we saw so much ice driving a seaboord, that it was then no going to sea.

August.

SATURDAY I went ashore, and there I saw three morses that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Morse, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare skin at three robles & two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Island, and that they would not abide them nor us, who have no houses, but onely coverings made of Deersskins, set over them with stakes: they are men expert in shooting, and have great plenty of Deere.

This night there fell a cruell storme, the wind being at West.

Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of snow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

Munday we weyed and went roome with another Island, which was five leagues Eastnortheast from us: and there I met againe with Loshak, and went on shore with him, and hee brought me to a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number above 300, the worst and the most unartificiall worke that ever I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had the shape of men, women and children, very grosly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was also sprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde sticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. I saw much of the footing of the sayd Samoeds, and of the sleds that they ride in. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I saw a deers skinne which the foules had spoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table wheron they offered their sacrifice: I saw also the instruments, whereupon they had roasted flesh, and as farre as I could perceive, they make their fire directly under the spit.

Loshak being there present tolde me that these Samoeds were not so hurtful as they of Ob are, and that they have no houses, as indeede I saw none, but onely tents made of Deers skins, which they underproppe with stakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers skins, and when they come on shoare they cary their boates with them upon their backes: for their cariages they have no other beastes to serve them, but Deere only. As for bread and corne they have none, except the Russes bring

it to them: their knowledge is very base, for they know no letter.

Tuesday we turned for the harborough where Loshaks barke lay, whereas before we road under an Island. And there he came aboord of us and said unto me: if God sende winde and weather to serve, I will goe to the Ob with you, because the Morses were scant at these Islands of Vaigats, but if he could not get to the river of Ob, then he sayd hee would goe to the river of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether so savage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee shewed me that they will shoot at all men to the uttermost of their power, that cannot speake their speech.

Wednesday we saw a terrible heape of ice approch neere unto us, and therefore wee thought good with al speed possible to depart from thence, and so I returned to the Westwards againe, to the Island where we were the 31. of July.

Thursday I went a shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the variation of the compasse was 8 degrees from the North to the West.

Loshak and the two small Lodias of Pechora departed from this Island, while I was on shoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I marvailed why he departed so suddenly, and went over the shoales amongst the Islands where it was impossible for us to follow them. But after I perceived them to be weather-wise.

Friday we road still, the winde being at Northnorth-east, with a cruell storme. The ice came in so abundantly about us at both ends of the Island that we road under, that it was a fearefull sight to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and hayle plenty.

Saturday we road still also, the storme being somewhat abated, but it was altogether misty, that we were not able to see a cables length about us, the winde being at Northeast and by East.

Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Island, the winde being at Southeast, and as we were cleere a sea boord the small Islandes and shoales, it came so thick with mistes, that we could not see a base shotte from us. Then we tooke in all our sailes to make little way.

At a Southeast sunne it waxed cleere, and then we set

our sayles, and lay close by the wind to the Southwards alongst the Islands of Vaigats. At a west sunne we tooke in our sayle againe because of the great mist and raine. Wee sounded at this place, and had five and twenty fadomes water, and soft blacke oze, being three leagues from the shoare, the winde being at South and by East, but still misty.

Munday at an East sunne we sounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, still misty: at noone wee sounded againe, and had 36 fadome, still misty.

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the mist still continuing.

Wednesday at three of the clocke in the morning the mist brake up, the wind being at Northeast & by East, and then we saw part of the Islands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eastsoutheast close by the winde: at a West sunne we were at an anker under the Southwest part of the said Vaigats, and then I sent our skiffe to shoare with three men in her, to see if they might speake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie.

Thursday the wind came Westerly, so that we were faine to seeke us another place to ride in, because the wind came a seaboord land, and although it were misty, yet wee followed the shoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of us, we let fall our anker. At a West sunne the mist brake up, so that we might see about us, and then we might perceive that we were entred into a sound.

This afternoone we tooke in two or three skiffes lading of stones to balast our shippe withall. It hyeth here foure foot water, and floweth by fits, uncertaine to be judged.

Friday we road still in the sound, the wind at Southwest, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it waxed againe mistie.

Saturday there was much winde at West, and much raine, and then againe mistie.

Sunday was very mistie, and much winde.

Munday very mistie, the winde at Westnorthwest.

Tuesday was also mistie, except at noone: then the sunne brake out through the mist, so that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was misty againe, the wind being at Westnorthwest.

Wednesday at three of the clocke afternoone the mist

brake up, & the wind came at Eastnortheast, and then we weyed, and went South & by East, until seven of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to have had sight of the sandie hilles that are to the Eastwards of the river Pechora. At a Northwest sunne we took in our maine saile, because the wind increased, & went with a foresaile Westnorthwest, the wind being at Eastnortheast: at night there grewe so terrible a storme, that we saw not the like, although we had indured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke such monstrous & terrible seas, without the great helpe of God, who never fayleth them at neede, that put their sure trust in him.

Thursday at a Southsouthwest sunne, thanks be to God, the storme was at the highest, & then the winde began to slake, and came Northerly withall, & then I reckoned the Westermost point of the river Pechora to be South of us 15 leagues. At a Westsouthwest sunne we set our maine sayle, and lay close by the winde, the winde being at Northwest and by North, making but little way, because the billow went so high: at midnight wee cast about, and the shippe caped Northnortheast, making little way.

Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we sounded, and had 29 fadomes sand, and in maner stremy ground. At a West sunne we cast about to the Westwards, and a little after the wind came up at West.

Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a terce, we sounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze signified that we drew towards Nova Zembla.

And thus we being out of al hope to discover any more to the Eastward this yeere, wee thought it best to returne, and that for three causes.

The first, the continuall Northeast and Northerly winds, which have more power after a man is past to the Eastwards of Caninoze, then in any place that I doe know in these Northerly regions.

Second, because of great and terrible abundance of ice which we saw with our eies, and we doubt greater store abideth in those parts: I adventured already somewhat too farre in it, but I thanke God for my safe deliverance from it.

Third, because the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes: and therefore I resolved to take the first best wind that God should send, and plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to see if we might do any good there, if God would permitt it.

This present Saturday we saw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it shewed unto us as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might see from Northwest off us to the Eastwards: and this afternoone the Lord sent us a little gale of wind at South, so that we bare cleere off the Westermost part of it, thanks be to God. And then against night it waxed calme againe, and the winde was at Southwest: we made our way untill Sunday noone Northwest and by West, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southwest: there was a billow, so that we could not discerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reasonable gesse.

Munday there was a pretie gale of wind at South, so that wee went West and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had little winde all day: at a Westnorthwest sunne we sounded, and had 29 fadoms blacke sandie oze, & then we were Northeast 5 leagues from the Northeast part of the Island Colgoieve.

Tuesday the wind all Westerly we plyed to the windwards.

Wednesday the wind was all Westerly, and calme: wee had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Island Colgoieve.

Thursday, we went roome about the Westermost part of the Island, seeking where we might finde a place to ride in for a Northwest wind, but could find none, and then we cast about againe to the seawards, and the winde came at Westsouthwest, and this morning we had plenty of snow.

Friday, the winde being at Southwest and by West, we plied to the windewards.

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plyed to the Westwards, and at afternoone the mist brake up, and then we might see the land seven or eight leagues to the Eastwards of Caninoz: we sounded a litle before and had 35. fadoms and oze. And a while after wee sounded

againe, and had 19. fadome and sand: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the shore, and towards night there came downe so much winde, that we were faine to bring our ship a trie, and laide her head to the Westwards.

Sunday, the winde became more calme, and then it waxed verie mystie: At noone wee cast about to the Eastwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boorde, and then we cast about and caped West southwest: we sounded and had 32. fathomes, and tough oaze like clay.

Munday, we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill some fish if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Nuse, which Nuses were there so plentie, that they would scarcely suffer any other fish to come neere the hookes: the said Nuses caried away sundrie of our hookes and leads.

A litle after at a West Sunne, the winde began to blow stormie at West southwest, so that we were faine to wey and forsake our fishing ground, and went close by the winde Southwest, and Southwest and by West, making our way South southwest.

September.

Tuesday at a West Sunne we sounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeshels: I reckoned Canonize to be 24. leagues Northnortheast from us.

The eleventh day we arrived at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approch of the next Sommer to proceede farther in our intended discoverie for the Ob: which (by reason of our imploiments to Wardhouse the next spring for the search of some English ships) was not accordingly performed.

Certaine notes unperfectly written by Richard Johnson servant to Master Richard Chancelour, which was in the discoverie of Vaigatz and Nova Zembla, with Steven Burrowe in the Serchthrift 1556. and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whose devilish rites hee describeth.

First, after we departed out of England we fell with Norway, and on that coste lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are under the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their speech from the Danes, for they

speake Norsh. And North of Northbern lie the Isles of Roste and Lofoot, and these Islands pertaine unto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and speake the language of the Islanders. And at the Eastermost part of that land is a castle which is called the Ward house, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Russes may not goe to the Westward of that castle. And East Southeast from that castle is a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to say, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and these people live in tents made of Deares skinnes: and they have no certaine habitations, but continue in heards and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And they are a people of small stature, and are clothed in Deares skinnes, and drinke nothing but water, and eate no bread but flesh all raw. And the Lappians bee a people adjoyning to them & be much like to them in al conditions: but the Emperour of Russia hath of late overcome manie of them, and they are in subjection to him. And this people will say that they beleeve in the Russes God. And they live in tents as the other doe. And Southeast and by South from Lappia lyeth a province called Corelia, and these people are called Kerilli. And South southeast from Corelia lyeth a countrey called Novogardia. And these three nations are under the Emperour of Russia, and the Russes keepe the Lawe of the Greekes in their Churches, and write somewhat like as the Greekes write, and they speake their owne language, and they abhorre the Latine tongue, neither have they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worshippe any carved Image, yet they will worshippe paynted Images on tables or boordes. And in Russia their Churches, steeples, and houses are all of wood: and their shippes that they have are sowed with withes and have no nayles. The Kerilles, Russians and Moscovians bee much alike in all conditions. And South from the Moscovians lye the Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and live in tentes and wagons, and keepe in heardes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will say, when they will curse any of their children, I woulde thou mightest tary so long in a place that thou mightest smell thine owne dung, as the Christians doe:

and this is the greatest curse that they have. And East Northeast of Russia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds meete twise a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. And Northeast from Lampas lieth the countrey of the Samoeds, which be about the river of Pechere, and these Samoeds bee in subjection to the Emperour of Russia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere skinnes, and they use much witchcraft, and shoot well in bowes. And Northeast from the river Pechere lieth Vaygatz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not suffer the Russes to land out of the Sea, but they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Russes: and they live in heards, and have all their carriages with deere, for they have no horses. Beyond Vaygatz lyeth a lande called Nova Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee sawe no people, and there wee had Foule inough, and there wee sawe white Foxes and white Beares. And the sayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in subjection to the Emperour of Russia, when they will remove from one place to another, then they will make sacrifices in manner following. Everie kinred doeth sacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is most auncient is their Priest. And first the Priest doeth beginne to playe upon a thing like to a great sieve, with a skinne on the one ende like a drumme: and the sticke that he playeth with is about a spanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, covered with the skinne of an Harte. Also the Priest hath upon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is covered with a piece of a shirt of maile, with manie small ribbes, and teeth of fishes, and wilde beastes hanging on the same maile. Then hee singeth as wee use heere in Englande to hallow, whope, or showte at houndes, and the rest of the company answere him with this Owtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Priest replieth againe with his voyces. And they answere him with the selfesame wordes so manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, having nothing on him but a shirt, lying upon his backe I might perceive him to breathe. I asked them why hee lay so, and they answered mee, Nowe doeth our God tell him what wee shall doe, and whither wee shall goe. And when he had lyen still a litle while, they cried thus three times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they use

these three calles, hee riseth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee rose up and sang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience answered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill five Olens or great Deere, and continued singing still both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a sworde of a cubite and a spanne long, (I did mete it my selfe) and put it into his bellie halfeway and sometime lesse, but no wounde was to bee seene, (they continuing in their sweete song still) Then he put the sworde into the fire till it was warme, and so thrust it into the slitte of his shirte and thrust it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his navill and out at his fundament: the poynt beeing out of his shirt behinde, I layde my finger upon it, then hee pulled out the sworde and sate downe. This beeing done, they set a kettle of water over the fire to heate, and when the water doeth seethe, the Priest beginneth to sing againe they answering him, for so long as the water was in heating, they sate and sang not. Then they made a thing being foure square, and in height and squarenesse of a chaire, and covered with a gown very close the forepart therof, for the hinder part stood to the tents side. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water still seething on the fire, and this square seate being ready, the Priest put off his shirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with those things which covered his face, & he had on yet all this while a paire of hosen of deeres skins with ye haire on, which came up to his buttocks. So he went into the square seat, and sate down like a tailour and sang with a strong voyce or halowing. Then they tooke a small line made of deeres skinnes of foure fathoms long, and with a smal knotte the Priest made it fast about his necke, and under his left arme, and gave it unto two men standing on both sides of him, which held the ends together. Then the kettle of hote water was set before him in the spare seat, al this time the square seat was not covered, and then it was covered w^t^ a gown of broad cloth without lining, such as the Russes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold ye ends of the line stil standing there, began to draw, & drew til they had drawn the ends of the line stiffe and together, and then I hearde a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent. Thereupon I asked them that sate by me

what it was that fell into the water that stoode before him. And they answered me, that it was his head, his shoulder and left arme, which the line had cut off, I meane the knot which I sawe afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I rose up and would have looked whether it were so or not, but they laid hold on me, and said, that if they should see him with their bodily eyes, they shoulde live no longer. And the most part of them can speake the Russe tongue to bee understood: and they tooke me to be a Russian. Then they beganne to hallow with these wordes, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, many times together. And as they were thus singing & out calling, I sawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thrust through the gowne from the Priest. I asked them that sate next to me what it was that I sawe, and they saide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I saw appeare through the gowne was a beast, but what beast they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked upon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee seene: and then at the last the Priest lifted up his head with his shoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their service which I sawe during the space of certaine houres: but how they doe worship their Idoles that I saw not: for they put up their stuffe for to remove from that place where they lay. And I went to him that served the Priest, and asked him what their God saide to him when he lay as dead. Hee answered, that his owne people doeth not know: neither is it for them to know: for they must doe as he commanded. This I saw the fift day of Januarie in the yere of our Lord 1556. after the English account.

A discourse of the honourable receiving into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, in the yeere of Christ 1556. and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queen Marie, serving for the third voyage to Moscovie. Registred by Master John Incent Protonotarie.

It is here recorded by writing and autenticall testimonie, partly for memorie of things done, and partly for the veritie to be knowen to posteritie in time to come, that whereas the most high and mightie Ivan Vasilivich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moscovia and Novogrode, Emperor of Cassan, and of

Astrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Novogrode in the nether countries, Chernigoskie, Rezanskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Rostoskie, Yeraslaveskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countries, and lord over all those partes, in the yeere of our Lord God, folowing the account of ye Latin church, 1556. sent by the sea from the port of S. Nicholas in Russia, his right honorable ambassador sirnamed Osep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the most famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, & Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambassador & Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceived, together with certain presents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued betweene their majesties & subjects respectively, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of July imbarked and shipped in, and upon a good English ship named the Edward Bonaventure, belonging to the Governor, Consuls and company of English marchants, Richard Chancelor being grand Pilot, and John Buckland master of the said ship. In which was laden at the adventure of the foresaid Ambassador, and marchants at severall accounts, goods & merchandizes, viz. in waxe, trane oyle, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and such like, to the summe of 20000.li. sterling, together with 16. Russies attendant upon the person of the said Ambassador. Over and above ten other Russies shipped within the said Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ship to the said company also belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the said Orators & marchants to the value of 6000. lib. sterling, as by the invoises and letters of lading of the said several ships (wherunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ships comming in good order into the seas, & traversing the same in their journey towards the coast of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempests of weather severed the one from the other, that is to say, the saide Bona Speranza with two

other English ships also appertaining to the saide company, the one sirnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driven on the coast of Norway, into Drenton water, where the saide Confidentia was seene to perish on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arrived in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and seven. The Edward Bonaventure traversing the seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of November of the aforesaide yeere of our Lorde one thousand five hundred, fiftie and sixe, arrived within the Scottish coast in a Bay named Pettislego, where by outragious tempests, and extreme stormes, the said ship being beaten from her ground tackles, was driven upon the rockes on shore, where she brake and split in pieces in such sort, as the grand Pilot using all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shore, and so to save and preserve the bodie, and seven of the companie or attendants of the saide Ambassadour, the same boat by rigorous waves of the seas, was by darke night overwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seven Russes, but also divers of the Mariners of the sayd ship: the noble personage of the saide Ambassadour with a fewe others (by Gods preservation and speciall favour) onely with much difficultie saved. In which shipwracke not onely the saide shippe was broken, but also the whole masse and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and ravenous people of the Countrey thereunto adjoyning, rifled, spoyled and caried away, to the manifest losse and utter destruction of all the lading of the said ship, and together with the ship, apparell, ordinance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thousand pounds, of all which was not restored toward the costs and charges to the summe of five hundred pound sterling.

As soone as by letters addressed to the said companie, and in London delivered the sixt of December last past, it was to them certainely knowen of the losse of their

Pilote, men, goods and ship, the same merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes majesties most gracious and favourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the saide Ambassadour, his traine and companie, with preservation and restitution of his goods, as in such miserable cases, to Christian pitie, princely honour and meere Justice appertaineth, but also addressed two Gentlemen of good learning, gravitie and estimation, videlicet, Master Lawrence Hussie Doctor of the Civill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requisites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, assist, and relieve him and his there, and also to conduct the Ambassadour into England, sending with them by poste a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the service of the sayde Ambassadour, trusting thereby to have the more ample and speedie redresse of restitution: which personages using diligence, arrived at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the saide moneth of December, who first visiting the saide Ambassadour, declaring the causes of their comming and Commission, shewing the letters addressed in his favour, the order given them for his solace and furniture of all such things as hee woulde have, together with their daily and readie service to attend upon his person and affaires, repaired consequently unto the Dowager Queene, delivering the letters.

Whereupon they received gentle answeres, with hope and comfort of speedie restitution of the goods, apparell, jewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene sent first certaine Commissioners with an Harold of armes to Pettislego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all such persons (no degree excepted) as had any part of such goods as were spoyled and taken out or from the ship to bring them in, and to restore the same with such further order as her grace by advise of her Councel thought expedient: by reason whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) divers small parcels of Waxe, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poorer sort of the Scottes brought to the Commissioners, but the Jewels, rich apparell, presents, gold, silver, costly furres, and such like, were

conveyed away, concealed and utterly embezelled. Wherupon, the Queene at the request of the said Ambassadour, caused divers persons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called personally before her princely presence, to answer to ye said spoile, & really to exhibit and bring in all such things as were spoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the same, whereof not onely good testimonie by writing was shewed, but also the things themselves found in the hands of the Scottish subjects, who by subtile and craftie dealings, by connivence of the commissioners, so used or rather abused themselves towards the same Orator & his attendants, that no effectuall restitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of February next ensuing, distrusting any reall and effectual rendring of the saide goods and marchandizes and other the premisses, upon leave obtained of the saide Queene, departed towards England, having attending upon him the said two English Gentlemen and others (leaving neverthelesse in Scotland three Englishmen to pursue the deliverie of such things as were collected to have bene sent by ship to him in England: which being in Aprill next, and not before imbarked for London, was not at this present day here arrived) came the 18. day of Februarie to Barwike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes majesties letters and commandement honourably received, used and interteined by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the East marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the dayly journeys done ordinarily did lie, in such order, maner and forme, as to a personage of such estate appertaineth. He prosecuting his voyage until the 27. of Februarie approched to the citie of London within twelve English miles, where he was received with fourscore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men servants in one uniforme liverie, as also in and upon good horses and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants house foure miles from London, received there a quantitie of gold, velvet and silke, with all furniture thereunto requisite, wherewith he made him a riding garment, reposing himselfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the last day of Februarie, he was by the merchants adventuring for Russia, to the number of one hundred and fortie persons,

and so many or more servants in one liverie, as abovesaid, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely the hunting of the Foxe and such like sport shewed him, but also by the Queenes majesties commandement was received and embraced by the right honourable Viscount Montague, sent by her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with divers lustie knights, esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horses led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparelled was presented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloth of Orient crimson velvet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion, of the present, and gift of the sayde merchants: where upon the Ambassadour at instant desire mounted, riding on the way towards Smithfield barres, the first limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their skarlet did receive him, and so riding through the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Maior and Viscount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable personages riding before, and a large troupe of servants and apprentises following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plausibilitie of the people running plentifully on all sides, and replenishing all streets in such sort as no man without difficultie might passe) into his lodging situate in Fant church streete, where were provided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, over and above the gallant furniture of the whole house, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all sortes, to furnish and serve him at all meales, and other services during his abode in London, which was, as is underwritten, until the third day of May: during which time daily divers Aldermen and the gravest personages of the said companie did visite him, providing all kind of victuals for his table and his servants, with al sorts of Officers to attend upon him in good sort and condition, as to such an ambassadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

It is also to be remembred that at his first entrance into his chamber, there was presented unto him on the Queenes Majesties behalfe for a gift and present, and his better furniture in apparel, one rich piece of cloth

of tissue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raised with crimosin velvet, a piece of crimosin velvet in graine, a piece of purple velvet, a piece of Damaske purpled, a piece of crimosin damaske, which he most thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreshing and preparing himselfe and his traine with things requisite he abode, expecting the kings majesties repaire out of Flanders into England, whose highnesse arriving the one and twentie of March, the same Ambassadour the five and twentieth of March being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day twelvemoneth he took his leave from the Emperour his master) was most honourably brought to the King and Queenes majesties court at Westminster, where accompanied first with the said Viscount and other notable personages, and the merchants, hee arriving at Westminster bridge, was there received with sixe lords, conducted into a stately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treasurer, Privie seale, Admirall, bishop of Elie, and other Counsellers, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought unto the Kings and Queenes majesties presence, sitting under a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richly decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had delivered his letters, made his Oration, given two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both in English and Spanish, in most loving maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainement, in sight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and Ladies eftsoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the assignement of the King and Queenes majesties, repaired and conferred with him secretly two grave Counsellers, that is, the lord Bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretary to their Highnesse, who after divers secret talkes and conferences, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the gravitie, wisedome, and stately behaviour of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their majesties contentations.

Finally concluding upon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes majesties most graciously under the great seale of England to him by the sayd counsellers delivered, doth appeare.

The three and twentieth of April, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the solemnitie of the

Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord ambassadour was eftsoones required to have audience: and therefore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their majesties presence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both given and received, hee most honourably tooke his leave with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with special honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queens majesties, in the sight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lords last above mentioned, and many other honorable personages, was present at the whole service, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the divine service ended, he eftsoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people universally, as before.

The time of the yeere hasting the profection and departure of the Ambassador, the merchants having prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kinds of merchandises apt for Russia, the same Ambassadour making provision for such things as him pleased, the same ships in good order valed downe the River of Thames, from London to Gravesend, where the same Ambassadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked to wards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayd Ambassadour in England, the Agents of the sayde marchants did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to be laden in an English shippe hired purposely to convey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to be delivered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both invite him to the Maior, and divers worshipfull mens houses, feasting and banquetting him right friendly, shewing unto him the most notable and commendable sights of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorable spectacles. And also the said 29. day of April, the said merchants assembling themselves together in the house of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gave unto ye said

Ambassador, a notable supper garnished with musicke, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being drunke to him in the name and lieu of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole company with most liberal and friendly hearts, did frankly give to him and his all maner of costs and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and untill setting of saile aboord the ship, requesting him to accept the same in good part as a testimonie and witnes of their good hearts, zeale and tendernesse towards him and his countrey.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Speranza no word nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arrivall of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Gravesend, accompanied with divers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard set him aboord the noble shippe, the Primrose Admiral to the Fleete, where leave was taken on both sides and parts, after many imbracements and divers farewels not without expressing of teares.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the Counsellers, videlicet, the Bishop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes Majesties repairing to the lorde Ambassadour did not onely deliver unto him their highnes letters of recommendations under the great seale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but also on their majesties behalfe gave and delivered certaine notable presents to the Emperours person, and also gifts for the lord Ambassadours proper use and behoofe, as by the particulars under written appeareth, with such further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly have not bin heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their honours be to have and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their subiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes majesties have shewed of their princely munificences & liberalities, so have likewise the merchants and fellowship of the Adventurers, for and to Russia, manifested to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commensed voyage, as by the discourse above mentioned, and other the notable actes over long to be recited in this present memoriall, doeth and may most clearely

appeare, the like whereof is not in any president or historie to bee shewed.

Forasmuch as it may bee doubted how the ship named the Edward Bonaventure suffered shipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were spoiled and deteined, how little restored, what charges and expenses ensued, what personages were drowned, how the rest of the ships either arrived or perished, or howe the disposition of almightie God hath wrought his pleasure in them, how the same ambassadour hath bene after the miserable case of shipwracke in Scotland unreverently abused, and consequently into England received and conducted, there intertained, used, honoured, and finally in good safetie towards his returne, and repaire furnished, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly dismissed, to the intent that the trueth of the premisses may bee to the most mightie Emperour of Russia sincerely signified in eschewment of all events and misfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambassadours person, traine, and goods, this present memoriall is written, and autentikely made, and by the sayde Ambassadour his servants, whose names be underwritten, and traine in presence of the Notarie, and witnesses undernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Given the day, moneth, and yeere underwritten, of which instrument into every of the sayde Shippes one testimoniall is delivered, and the first remaineth with the sayde Companie in London.

Giftes sent to the King and Queenes Majesties of England by the Emperour of Russia, by the report of the Ambassadour, and spoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.

1 First, sixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure living Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Lusarnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, sixe large and great skinnes very rich and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for woorthinesse.
6 Item, a large and faire white Jerfawcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Goose, and other great Fowles,

together with a drumme of silver, the hoopes gilt, used for a lure to call the sayd Hawke.

Giftes sent to the Emperour of Russia by the King and Queenes Majesties of England.

1 First, two rich peices of cloth of Tissue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Brigandines with a Murrian covered with crimson velvet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Giftes given to the Ambassadour at his departure, over and above such as were delivered unto him at his first arrivall.

1 First, a chaine of golde of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large Bason and Ewer, silver and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all such Russies as were attendant upon the Ambassadour, at and before his departure out of England.

Isaak Fwesscheneke.
Demetre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroffia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord above mentioned, in the house of the worshipfull John Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, situate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the above named honourable Osep Gregorywich Napea Ambassadour and Orator above mentioned, personally constituted and present, having declared unto him by the mouth of the right worshipfull master Anthonie Hussie Esquire, the effect of the causes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Best his interpreter sworne, recognized, and knowledged

in presence of me the Notarie & personages underwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, aswell for his owne person as for his servants above named, who did not subscribe their names as is above mentioned, but onely recognized the same. In witnesse whereof, I John Incent Notarie Publike, at the request of the said master Anthonie Hussie, and other of the Marchants have to these presents underwritten set my accustomed signe, with the Subscription of my name, the day and yeere above written, being present the right Worshipfull,

Andrew Judde.
George Barne. Knights.
William Chester. } Aldermen of London.
Rafe Greeneaway. ———
John Mersh Esquier.
John Dimmock.
Blase Sanders.
Hubert Hussie, and
Robert Best above mentioned.

The voyage of the foresaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from Colmogro to Wardhouse, which was sent to seeke the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

Upon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchthrift from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compasse, 5. degrees, 10 minutes from the North to the East.

Wednesday we came to the Island called Pozanka, which Island is within foure leagues of the barre Berozova. It floweth here at an East and by South moone full sea.

Saturday in the morning we departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berôzova Gooba, whereupon wee came to anker at a lowe water, and sounded the said Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the best upon the shoaldest of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth upon this barre, in spring streames 3. foote water: and an East Moone maketh a full sea upon this barre.

Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozova, and plied along by the shoalds in five fadome,

untill I had sight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee cast about to the Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and betweene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coscaynos. Coscaynos & the middes of the Island called Mondeustova ostrove, which is thwart of the barre of Berozova lieth South and by East, North and by West, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may say from the Seaboord part of the barre to Coscaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe.

Munday at a Northeast and by East sunne we were thwart of Coscaynos.

Dogs nose lieth from Coscaynos Northnorthwest, and betweene them are eight leagues: and Dogs nose sheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both sides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs nose there standeth a crosse alone.

June.

From Dogs nose to Foxenose are three leagues, North and by West.

The 2. day of June I went on shoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a shoare at this place, at an East Moone full sea, and the shippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southsoutheast moone. So that it is to be understoode, that when it is a full sea on the shoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compasse at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the East.

This day the Northnorthwest winde put us backe againe with Dogs nose, where a ship may ride thwart of a salt house, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and have Landfange for a North and by West winde: which Salt house is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs nose.

Friday at a Southsouthwest Sunne, wee departed from this Salt house. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose there growe no trees on the banke by the water side: and the bankes consist of fullers earth. Over the cliffes there growe some trees:

so that Dogs nose is the better to be knowen because it is fullers earth, and the like I have not seene in all that Countrey.

A head of Foxe nose a league from the shoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Foxe nose and Zolatitsa there are 6 leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Foxe nose.

Sunday I sounded the barre of Zolatitsa, which the Russes told me was a good harborow, but in the best of it I found but 4. foote water.

Munday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecost sixe leagues South of us.

Wednesday I went on land at Crosse Island, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24 minutes.

We being one league Northeast of Crosse Island, I sawe the land on the Eastside, which I judged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eastsoutheast of us 9. leagues.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeast from Crosse Island.

There are 2. Islands 5. leagues Northnortheast from Cape grace, the Southermost of them is a little long Island almost a mile long, and the Northermost a little round Island, and they are both hard aboord the shore.

Cape Race is from the Southermost Island North and by West, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorthwest, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Russes have a Stanavish or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Westwards of the sayd poynt, there is a shoale bay.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the shoare in this latitude I found it to be a full sea at a North and by East moone. I had where we roade two and twentie fadoome, and the tallow which is taken up is full of great broken shels, and some stones withall like unto small sand congealed together.

From a South sunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by East, wee drived to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ships head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast her head to the Westwards, we sounded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand; this present day was very mistie, with frost on the shrowds as the mist fell.

Friday in the morning at an East sunne, the mist brake up a little, the winde being at North and by West a stiffe gale, our shrowdes and roapes over head being covered with frost, and likely to be a storme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Islands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for us. It higheth at these Islands two fadome water: it floweth in the harborow at this place at a Southsoutheast moone ful sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a Southsouthwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Island, Tri Ostrove.

You may come in betweene the little Island and the great Island, and keepe you in the mids of the Sound, and if you borrowe on any side, let it bee on the greatest Island, and you shall have at a low water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, untill that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is betweene the Northermost point of the greatest Island, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Northwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall have at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sand. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboorde, for on the Island side after you be shotte so farre in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound over: which rockes do last unto the Southerly part of the great Island, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harbor for Northerly windes, when you come out of the sea, hale in with the Southerly part of the great Island, giving the Island a faire birth, and as you shoote towards the maine, you shall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, five, sixe and seven fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Island (if neede bee) you may have a good place to ground a ship in: the great Island is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile over.

This storme of Northerly winde lasted untill the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on shore at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a halfe from the North to the East.

Thursday being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sand, and broken shels. And when the slake came wee wayed and made aboord to the shoare-wards, and had within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sand: a man may finde roade there for a North winde, and so to the Westwards.

Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Christi poynt, you may have Landfang for a North and by East winde, and from that to the Westwards in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sand, and amongst the sand little yong small limpets, or such like as growe upon muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding aforesaid, but the yong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, almost a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Christi point is the uttermost land, which land and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. Riding this day sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at Northnorthwest, with mist and frost, at noone the sunne appeared through the mist, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

Munday we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, or rather more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms and broken cocle shels, with brannie sand, but the broken shels very thicke.

Tuesday in the morning we were shotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Sotinoz. And as we were shot almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the wind came up at the Northwest, and after to the Northwards, so that we were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betweene S. Johns Islands, and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, we tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West sunne there came aboord us certaine

Lappians in a boate, to the number of sixeteene persons, and amongst them there were two wenches, and some of them could speake the Russe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, besides women and children, but a litle from us in the river Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to seeke meate among the rockes, saying, If wee get no meate, wee eate none. I sawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth grasse when shee is hungrie. I sawe them also eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes also that were in the egges.

I observed certaine wordes of their language, which I thought good to set downe for their use, that hereafter shall have occasion to continue this voyage.

Cowghtie coteat, what call you this.
Poddythecke, come hither.
Avanchythocke, get the hence.
Anna, farewell.
Teyrve, good morrowe.
Iomme lemaufes, I thanke you.
Passevellie, a friend.
Olmvelke, a man.
Captella, a woman.
Alke, a sonne.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyvie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a nose,
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannea, teeth.
Neughtema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Peallee, an eare.
Teappat, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Keat, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, wollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a shirt.
Tol, fire.
Keatse, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Arica, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyve, a day.
Hyr, a night.
Peyvezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laste, starres.
Cozam volka, whither goe you.
Ottapp, sleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiedde pieve, a weeke.
Isckie, a yeere.
Kesse, Sommer.
Talve, Winter.
Iowksam, colde.
Parox, warme.

Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatykye, a stone.
Sellowpe, silver.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinne.
Veskue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybx, a knife.
Axshe, a hatchet.
Leabee, bread.
Iaevegoat, meale.
Pencka, the winde.
Iowte, A platter.
Kemnie, a kettle.
Keestes, gloves.
Sapege, shoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatsa, the labouring Deare.

Their words of number are these as followeth.

Ofte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Keydeem,	7.
Kaffts,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Ostretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenonbelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.
Vittie nombelocke,	15.
Cowtenombelocke,	16.
Keydemnombelocke,	17.
Kafts nombelocke,	18.
Owght nombelocke,	19.
Coffteylocke,	20.
Colmelocke,	30.
Nelly locke,	40.
Vittè locke,	50.
Cowtelocke,	60.
Keydemlocke,	70.
Kaffstelocke,	80.
Oughcheteloke,	90.
Tewet.	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from Saint Johns Island : to the Westwards thereof, a mile from the shoare, we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie sand.

Juana Creos is from Cape gallant Westnorthwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Island, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Juana Creos, Northwest and by North, and almost the 3. part of a point to the Westwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

The Eastermost of S. Georges Islands, or the 7. Islands, lyeth from Juana Creos Northwest, & halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues & a halfe. The uttermost of the 7. Islands, & Cape comfort lieth Northwest, & by North, Southeast, and by South.

Under the Southermost Island you shall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northwest to the Northeast. From the Southeast part of the 7. Islands,

unto the Northwest part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

From the Northwest part of the Islands aforesaid, unto S. Peters Islands, are 11. leagues Northwest.

26 S. Peters Islands rise an indifferent low point, not seeming to be an Island, and as if it had a castle upon it.

S. Pauls Islands lie from S. Peters Islands Northwest and to the Westwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within these Islands there is a faire sandy bay, and there may be found a good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Islands Northwest and by West, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Cape comfort, which is the Island of Kildina, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues West Northwest, and it is altogether a bay betweene them seeming many Islands in it.

From Cape Bonaventure, to Chebe Navoloche are 10. leagues Northwest, and a litle to the Westwards. Chebe Navoloche is a faire point, wheron standeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butte standing a head.

From Chebe Navoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northwest, and halfe a poynt to the Westwards. Kegor riseth as you come from the Eastwards like 2. round homocks standing together, and a faire saddle betweene them.

27 It floweth where we road this Sunday to the Eastwards of Kegor, at a Southeast and by East moone, a full sea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the shoare: at a Northwest Sunne the mist came downe so thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within lesse then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. fadome, and the sounding like to the skurfe of a skalde head.

28 Munday at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouse, although it were very mistie. Then I sent a man a shoare to know some newes, and to see whether they could heare any thing of our ships.

29 Tuesday I went on shoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himselfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him every houre, and they said that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northwest and by North sunne we departed from Wardhouse, toward Colmogro.

30 Wednesday we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at East Southeast, so that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Westwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. small ships, that shall not draw past 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an East Northeast winde is the worst. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds from the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we saw there a barke which was of Dronton, & three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northberne: so when I came a shoare, I met first with the Dutchmen, amongst whom was the Borrow-masters sonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he shewed me that the Confidence was lost, and that he had bought her sailes for his ship. Then the Dutch-men caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I sawe the Lappians chepen of the said Dutchmen, both silver platters and dishes, spoones, gilt rings, ornaments for girdles of silver & gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necke, with silver chaines belonging to them.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie strong beere, I am certaine that our English double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would last.

Here I sawe the Dutchmen also have course cloth, both blew, greene and redde, and sad horseflesh colour: And hither they bring also Ottars cases and foxe cases, both blacke and redde: our English foxe cases are but counterfaits unto them.

They would not let me understand any of their prises, but as I otherwise understood they bartered 2. load of silver for 100 of stockfish, and 2. loade is a doller. And the Dutchmen told me, that they had made a notable good yeere this present yeere 1557. They tolde me that they should be faine to goe to Wardhouse with one lading, and lay it on land there, and so come againe and fetch another. The Borrowmasters sonne told me, that he would go to Amsterdam with his lading of stockfish, who gave me a barrell of strong beere, and brought it in aboord our ship himselfe.

After this I went among the Russes and Kerils, who offered me fish to sell, and likewise the Lappians desired me to looke upon their fish. I made them answere, that

I had nowe no wares nor money to barter with them, and said that I came only to see if I might meete with our English ships. Then they desired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I said to them, If I should come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fish ynough to serve the Dutchmen and us also. They answered me, that if more ships did resort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fish: and further they said, that some of them came thither a fishing 8. weekes journey with Deere, which Deere will travaile more speedily then horses will.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Russia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) sent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar salutations, made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ships came thither. I answered him, because we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then said he, If you will come hither, here would more people resort to kill fish, I thinke it good (said he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one English ship should come thither.

Because I sawe the servants of the king of Denmarke there also gathering the tribute, I asked Vasilie Pheodorvich the Russie deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to us, if we should come to this Kegor. And he said, no, they should not: for this land is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians solde no fish, untill the said deputie had looked upon it, and had given them leave to sell. I asked him what wares were best for us to bring thither, and he said, silver, pearles, cloth, blewe, red, and greene, meale, strong beere, wine, pewter, foxe cases, and gold.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Russia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the River Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we should have great plentie of salmon, if corne were any thing cheape in Russia: for then poore men would resort thither to kill salmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it, because

they could not sell all their fish, and that which they sold was as pleased the Dutchmen, and at their own price. I asked the Kerils at what price they sold their fish to the Russes, & they said good cheape: wee sell 24. fishes for 4. altines. I thinke they solde little above 20. pence, the 25. fishes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the best stockfish is made at Kegor. I sawe at Vasilies tent 7. or 8. javelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, & likewise swords with other weapons: Otherwise I sawe no weapons there.

I was also conveyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I sawe a paire of bilbowes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they said no, but onely for their owne company if they should chance to be unruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be trusted, for they will steale as well as the Russes, if they may conveniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, because the winde was scant to goe back againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eastwards of the poynt Kegor, and sent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ovens that the Kerils have for their provision.

Instructions given to the Masters and Mariners to be observed in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1557. toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Race to be made & returne of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.

First, it is accorded and agreed betweene the severall proprietaries and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the Primrose, the John Evangelist, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistants and companie of the Marchant adventurers, that the above named foure ships shall in good order and conduct, saile, passe, and travaile together in one flote, ging, and conserve of societie, to be kept indissolubly and not to be severed, but united within continuall sight, so farre foorth as (by winde & weather) by possibilitie shall or may be without any separation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the

Primerose, shalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Jenkinson Gentleman, shalbe captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ships shall ensue and folow her in all courses, and that no course nor waying (in harborough especially) shall be made without advice, consent and agreement of the sayd Captaine, the Master, his mate, and two other officers of the said ship, or of three of them at the least.

3 Item, that the said Anthonie is and shalbe reputed & taken for Captaine general of the said flote together with all such orders, preeminences, priviledges and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his abode and exercise of the same.

4 It is also ordeined, that if any one or moe of the said 3. ships shalbe out of sight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the ships shall tacke or take off their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consortment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is constituted, that if any ships shalbe severed by mist or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot have sight of the other, then and in such case the Admiral shall make sound and noise by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwise or meanes, that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6 It is also to be observed, that every day once the other three shippes shall send and come aboord the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Navigation, and most expedition of the same.

7 Item, that notes & entries be daily made of their Navigations put in writing & memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & caused to learne and observe the same.

8 It is accorded that the said Captaine shall have the principall rule and governement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all other the sailers, shalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reason appertaineth.

9 Also that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be spilt upon the balast, or other place of the ship, whereby any anoyance, stinke, or other unsavorinesse shall growe in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10 Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time disship any artificer or English servingman or apprentice out of the Primrose into any of the other three ships, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke convenient and most meete to serve the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great respect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eschewed and avoyded.

12 Item, that singular care and respect be had to the ports of the ship, aswell in Navigation as in harborow, and especially in lading and unlading of the shippes, that nothing be lacking or surcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eschuement of such losses, as may ensue.

13 Special foresight is to be had, that at the Wardhouse no treacherie, invasion, or other peril of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kings, princes, or companies, that do mislike this new found trade by seas to Russia, or would let & hinder the same: whereof no small boast hath bene made: which giveth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will serve, it is thought good rather to goe by the Wardhouse then to come in and ancre there, lest any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted against us, our goods and ships as above.

15 It is thought good that Richard Johnson, late servant to M. Chanceler, shall be sent home in this next returne, to instruct the company of the state of the Countrey, and of such questions as may be demanded of him, for our better advertisements and resolutions, in such doubts as shall arise here: and that he shall have the roome of the Captaine in such sort, as Master Jenkinson is in this present cocket assigned unto. And if Johnson can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the said place, then any other person to be preferred thereunto, as by the discretion of our said Captaine, with consent of our Agents, shall be thought meete and apt to supply the same.

16 Provided alway, that the ships returning be not disfurnished of one such able man, as shall occupie the Captainship in like order, as is, and hath bene in such case appoynted, as reason and good order requireth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and devises, made and provided for the good order of our ships, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diverse, to these articles, and the contents of the same, shall be, and stand in full force and effect, to be in all respects observed and kept of all and every person and persons, whom the same doth or shall touch or concerne.

In witnesse of the premisses faithfully to be observed and kept, the owners and Masters of the said foure ships, together with the said Captaine, to these seventeene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper, have subscribed their hands. Given in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primerose.
Andrewe Judde.
William Chester.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Casteline.
¶ Owners of the John Evangelist.
Andrew Judde.
William Chester.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
John Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants adventurers to Russia unto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane their Agents there, to be delivered in Colmogro or els where: sent in the John Evangelist.

After our heartie commendations unto you and to either of you: your generall letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the sale and remainders of our goods, and the buying of ware there with you, we received about the ende of November out of the Edward, with heavie newes of the losse of the sayde good shippe and goods at Petslego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chanceler and his Boy, with certaine of the Embassadours servants, and he himselfe with nine of his servants escaped very hardly onely by the power of God: but all his goods and ours in maner were lost and pilfered away by the Scots, and that that is saved is not yet come to our hands, but we looke for it daily, and it will skant pay the charges for

the recovering of it. No remedy but patience: and to pray to God to send us better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiving and entertaining of the Embassadour and his retinewe since his comming to England at the king and Queenes Majesties hands, with the Counsell & Lords of this Realme, and the Marchants that be free in Russia with feasting and benevolence given him, wee referre it to his report and others. The like we thinke have not bene seene nor shewed here of a long time to any Ambassadour. The Philip and Marie arrived here tenne dayes past: shee wintered in Norway. The Confidence is lost there. And as for the Bona Esperanza, as yet we have no newes of her. We feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading received in your generall letters we perceive what wares are laden in them both. Your letters have no date nor mention where they were made, which were written by Henry Lane, and firmed by you George Killingworth, and Richard Gray: both it and the other Letters and Bookes came so sore spoyled and broken with water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You shall understand we have fraighted for the parts of Russia foure good shippes to be laden there by you & your order: That is to say, The Primerose of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Master under God John Buckland: The John Evangelist of 170. Tunnes, Master under God Laurence Roundal: The Anne of London of the burthen of 160 tunnes, Master under God David Philly, and the Trinitie of London of the burthen of 140. Tunnes, Master under God John Robins, as by their Charter parties may appeare: which you may require to see for divers causes. You shall receive, God willing, out of the said good ships, God sending them in safety for the use of the Company, these kinds of wares following, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth. 25. fardels containing 207. sorting clothes, one fine violet in graine, and one skarlet, and 40. cottons for wrappers, beginning with number 1. and ending with number 52. The sorting clothes may cost the first peny 5.li. 9.s. the cloth, one with the other. The fine violet 18.li. 6.s. 6.d. The skarlet 17.li. 13.s. 6.d. the cottons at 9.li. 10.s. the packe, accompting 7. cottons for a packe. more 500. pieces of Hampshire kersies, that is 400. watchets, 43. blewes, 53. reds, 15. greenes, 5. ginger colours, and 2. yelowes which cost the first penny 4.li. 6.s. the piece, & 3. packes

containing 21 cottons at 9.li. 10.s. the packe: and part of the clothes is measured by Arshines. More 9. barrels of Pewter of Thomas Hasels making, &c. Also the wares bee packed and laden as is aforesayde, as by an Invoyce in every Shippe more plainely may appeare. So that when it shall please God to send the said good ships to you in safetie, you are to receive our said goods, and to procure the sales to our most advantage either for ready money, time or barter: having consideration that you doe make good debts, and give such time, if you give any, as you may employ and returne the same against the next voyage; and also foreseeing that you barter to a profit, and for such wares as be here most vendible, as wexe, tallowe, traine oyle, hempe and flaxe. Of furres we desire no great plentie, because they be dead wares. And as for Felts, we will in no wise you send any. And whereas you have provided tarre, and as we suppose, some hempe ready bought, our advise is, that in no wise you send any of them hither unwrought, because our fraight is 4.li. a tunne or little lesse: which is so deare, as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we have sent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their covenants here inclosed shall appeare. Whom we wil you set to worke with al expedition in making of cables & ropes of al sorts, from the smallest rope to xii. inches: And that such tarre and hempe as is already brought to the water side, they may there make it out, and after that you settle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you shall thinke good, where their stuffe may be neerest to them: at which place and places you doe assigne them a principall overseer aswell to see the deliverie of the stuffe unwrought, as also to take charge of the stuffe wrought, & to foresee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hempe rotted in the watering; and also to furnish them so with labourers, workemen and stuffe, as hereafter when these workmen shall come away, we be not destitute of good workmen, and that these may dispatch as much as possibly they may, doing it substancially: for we esteeme it a principal commoditie, and that the Counsel of England doth well allowe. Let all diligence be used, that at the returne of these shippes we may see samples of all ropes & cables if it be possible, and so after to continue in worke, that we may have good store against the next yeere. Therefore they have neede to have a place to

worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them have helpe ynough to spinne their stuffe: for seeing you have great plentie of hempe there, and at a reasonable price, we trust we shalbe able to bring as good stuffe from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently used, and have a good overseer.

Let the chiefest lading of these foure shippes be principally in wexe, flaxe, tallowe and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares then these ships be able to take in, then leave that which is least in valew and grossest in stouage untill the next shipping: for wee doe purpose to ground our selves chiefly upon these commodities, as wexe, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and some linen yarne. As for Masts, Tarre, Hempe, Feathers, or any such other like, they would not beare the charges to have any, considering our deere fraight. We have sent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke and lodging, to viewe and see such furres as you shall cheape or buye, not minding neverthelesse, that you shall charge your selves with many, except those which bee most vendible, as good marterns, minivers, otherwise called Lettis and Mynkes. Of these you may send us plentie, finding them good and at a reasonable price. As for Sables and other rich Furres, they bee not every mans money: therefore you may send the fewer, using partly the discretion of the skinner in that behalfe.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of steele in Russia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you sent us part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what store is to be had: for we heare say there is great plentie, and that the Tartars steele is better then that in Russia. And likewise we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and send us some for an example. Also we would have you to certifie us what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Revel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Russia, and send the skantlings of them with part of the lists, and a full advise of the lengths and breadths, colours and prices, and whether they be strained or not: and what number of them may be uttered in a yeere, to the intent we may make provision for them for the like sortes, and all other Flemish wares which they bring thither and be most vendible there. And to certifie us whether our set

clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and shorne: because ofttimes they goe undrest. Moreover, we will you send us of every commoditie in that Countrey part, but no great quantitie other then such as is before declared. And likewise every kinde of Lether, whereof wee bee informed there is great store bought yeerely by the Esterlings and Duches for hie Almaigne and Germanie.

More, that you doe send us for proofe a quantity of such earth, hearbes, or what thing soever it be, that the Russes do die and colour any kinde of cloth linen or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and also part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it must be used in dying and colouring. Moreover, that you have a speciall foresight in the chusing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere putrifie & consume.

Also that you certifie us the trueth of the waights and measures, and howe they doe answere with ours, and to send us 3. robles in money, that we may trie the just value of them.

Also we doe send you in these ships ten yong men that be bound Prentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt every of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for understanding and knowledge. And we will you send us advertisement from time to time as well of the demeanours of our Prentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remisse, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselves and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why.

And because we doe perceive the Countrey to be large, and that you have three housholds, we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to joyne with you in all your doings, and to have like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray have: not doubting but you three will so conferre together, as both our Prentises and others may be appoynted and divided every of them to his office, and to that he can best skill of: and you also so divide your selves every of you to an house, as by advertisement one from another, our

businesse and trafficke may take good successe. And for divers considerations, to avoyde many troubles and businesse that might happen, wee have appoynted that hee which shall abide at Colmogro (which we doe thinke to bee most meetest Henry Lane) shall have with him there such of our yong men, as can best skill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there shall be the place, where our bookes shalbe kept: because it is nearer the sea side, where our goods shalbe discharged and our ships laden. And the said Henry Lane to be charged with all such goods as we shall discharge there out of our ships, according to our Invoyces. Which goods are to be sent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Mosco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do appoynt them to be sold, so that Henry Lane be one. And so from time to time immediatly as any thing is sold, doe you certifie the same to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwise he should be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ships, when he should send us the accompt of the whole yeere passed. And we will also that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next send either of you unto Henry Lane a whole, perfit, & just accompt firmed with your owne hands of all the goods you have solde and bought untill that time, and what remaineth unsolde: and also the accompt of all maner costs of wares, and charges of you and the yong men under you particularly in such sort as the said accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furthest: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfite against the comming of our ships: and in any wise to keepe accompt of every voyage by it selfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will have you to keepe accompt of every voyage by it selfe, even so wee would have all the whole costes and charges of every yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the last yeere must be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere present, must in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wisedome is such, that you will not take it in evill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the rest. For we doe it for none other cause,

but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this meanes agree: and hee being the yonger man, may best take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of every kinde of wares by it selfe, to the intent wee may perceive wherein is our most gaine. And also in the making of your returne, in any wise name in your billes of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the first, second, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the same by the numbers or otherwise as you shall thinke good by your wisedomes, putting the charges of the saide wares unto them, as nigh as you can. And all such money as shall bee made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your discretion, where it shall remaine untill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Mosco, or els where. And likewise wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readinesse about the beginning of June every yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere passed: in such sort that wee may receive the same by our shippes: and that wee may plainely perceive what sales are made, and what remaineth of the first, second, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges have bene layde out for the sayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they cost, and for what voyage every parcell thereof is: and to send us a copie of the same accompt in every shippe. And also forasmuch as at this time we have sent you but small store of wares in comparison of that we have hope will bee uttered in short space, and yet neverthelesse much more then you wrote for, whereby there shall not be sufficient to make any ample returne: and understanding that there is great quantitie of goods stayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee have mooved the Embassador that you may have credite for such quantitie as shall seeme good to you to provide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwise have, we would you bought as much Wexe principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey so great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the best commoditie we may have: for having that wholly in our hands, we may serve our owne countrey and others. Therefore seeing the Emperour doth minde, that such commodities as bee in his dominions shall not passe to Rie and Revel and Poland as they have done, but bee reserved for us: therefore we must so lay

for it, that it may not ly upon their hands that have it to sell, alwayes having consideration in the price and time as our next dispatch may correspond. Whereof you may send a certaine advise, as well what you shall receive of credit, and to what quantitie, as also what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well considered, you may advertise us as well for how many hundreth tonnes we must provide fraight against the next yeere, as also what sortes, quantities and qualities of wares we shall send you, as well to pay your credite, as also to furnish the next adventure after. Of this we would be answered largely. For we trust by this time you are able to give full instructions of the state of the countrey: according to the articles of your first Commissions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewise what of our commodities have most utterance there, and what prices will be given for them there: and all other things requisite and necessary to be knowen.

Also we doe understand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the river of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewise in the Countrey of Ugory, which we be desirous to have knowledge of, because it is a speciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee have sent you a yong man, whose name is Leonard Brian, that hath some knowledge in the wood, to shew you in what sorte it must be cut and cloven. So our minde is if there be any store, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe provide a good quantitie against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes: and if there can bee found none that will serve for our purpose, then you may set the sayd Leonard Brian to any other businesse that you shall finde most fittest for him, untill the returne of our ships the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpose. We doubt not but that hee shall doe you good service there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing up hath bene most in Danske, and hath good understanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Also we doe send you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readinesse all such caske as shalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing else. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleve such Yewe as he

shall like there. And because we be not sure what timber they shall finde there to make Caske, we have laden in these ships 140. tunnes emptie Caske, that is 94. tunnes shaken Caske and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thousand hoopes, & 480. wrethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can provide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They have an example with them of the bignesse of the Caske they shall make. Neverthelesse, all such Buttes and Hoggesheads as may be found to serve we will shalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Also we charge you that you suffer no goods nor marchandies of any persons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wise in our ships either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embassadour minde to send any thing to the King and Queenes Majesties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Companie: Nor likewise that you suffer any goods that goe in these ships to be brought on land there, except the Ambassadours goods, and the Physitions & Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandise. And because our ships be freighted by the great, it shalbe very needefull that you do appoynt certaine to see the romaging of the ships, and to give the master or Boatswaine, or him that will take upon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to see the goods well romaged. If it bee iii.d. or iiii.d. the tunne, it shall not be amisse. For if it be not substantially well looked unto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Also because we reckon that from the Mosco will bee alwayes better conveyance of letters to us by land: our minde is that from time to time as occasion shall serve, our Agents shall write to him that shall lie at Mosco of all things that shall passe, that hee may give us large instructions, aswell what is solde and bought, as also what lading we shall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we shall send. For hitherto we have had but a slender advise, more like a bill to serve a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to serve a kingdome. For we must procure to utter good quantitie of wares, especially the commodities of our Realme, although we affoord a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that have traded thither, wearie, and so to bring our selves and our commodities in estimation, and likewise

to procure to have the chiefe commodities of that countrey in our hands, as waxe and such others, that other nations may bee served by us and at our hands. For wee doe understand that the greatest quantitie of waxe that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Russia. Therefore if wee should buy part, and they also buy, it would raise the price there, and would bee litle woorth here. And all such letters of importance and secrecie as you doe send by land for any wares or otherwise, you must write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke sent you in the shippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may understand them by the same booke heere, and to send them in such sort, that we may have them here by Christmas or Candlemas, if it be possible. And because you cannot so certainly advertise us by letters of your doings, but some doubt may arise, whereof we would most gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with these ships you send us home one such yong man as is most expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can best certifie us in such questions as may be demanded, whome we will remit unto you againe in the next ships. We thinke Arthur Edwards wilbe fittest for that purpose: neverthelesse use your discretion in that matter.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfered out of our ships at Colmogro and Vologda we trust by this time they are restored againe, and the malefactors so punished that other may take example for doing the like, otherwise it will be an evill president. Moreover, wee doe perceive that Richard Gray doeth buy mastes to send into England, they will not quit the costes, except we had a ship of purpose for them. And likewise that Steven Burrow is returned from his discoverie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to set forth in the beginning of June next to seeke the river of Ob. We pray God to speede him well, and trust to have him here in England this yeere to bring us good newes.

We doe perceive there is a river found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot upon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will bee a great pleasure unto us. We will that Steven Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to discover. Also we have sent you one Anthonie Jenkinson Gentle-

man, a man well travelled, whom we mind to use in further travelling, according to a Commission delivered him, subscribed by master Anthonie Huse and others. Wherefore we will you deliver him one or more of such painfull young men as he shal thinke meetest for his purpose: and likewise such money and wares as he shal think best to take with him. He must have fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, so let him have it from Easter last. Also the prices of wares here at this present are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, waxe at foure pound the hundred, tallow at sixteene shillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no shippes come out of Danske.

Kept untill the tenth day of this present. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recovered out of the Edward Bonaventure: and nowe we doe perceive that the caske that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you shall lade it all in such barrels of the bigger sort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor small. And that caske that wee have sent may serve for the Tallowe or anie other ware that is not leakage. Nevertheless, this voyage you must take such as you can get.

Also if the Emperour bee minded to deliver you any summe of money, or good Waxe at as reasonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you shall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our adventure, and hee to bee payed at the returne of the shippes in Velvets, Sattens, or any other kinde of silke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tissue, or according as his Commission shall bee that hee shall sende us in the shippes, and according to such paternes as hee shall send. Wee doe not finde the Ambassadour nowe at the last so conformable to reason as wee had thought wee shoulde. Hee is very mistrustfull, and thinketh everie man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you have to doe with him or with any such, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to set them downe in writing. For they bee subtill people, and doe not alwaies speake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themselves. Therefore we would have none of them

to send any goods in our shippes at any time, nor none to come for passengers, unlesse the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is aforesaid, for his owne person.

Also we charge you not to suffer any of our nation to send any wares to their wives or friends in any of our ships; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwise: and to have consideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after sixteene shillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth past 12. or 13. shillings sterling. Moreover, you had neede to sende newe accomptes, for them that came in the Edward bee marred and torne, so that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewise to write us a perfect note of all the goodes which you received the last voyage out of the Edward, and heerein not to faile.

Andrew Judde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huse.
William Garrard.
William Chester.

A Letter of Master Thomas Hawtrey to the worshipfull Master Henrie Lane Agent at Colmogro, written in Vologda the 31. of Januarie 1557.

WORSHIPFULL Sir, heartie commendations premised. These may bee to advertise you, that yesterday the thirtieth of this present came hither Robert Best, and brought with him two hundred robles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two robles and a halfe the bercovite, master Gray hath written to buy no more at that price: for John Sedgewicke hath bought for sixe or seven hundred robles worth at Novogrode for one roble and a halfe the bercovite, and better cheape: and white Novogrode flaxe is there at three robles the bercovite. I trust hee will doe much good by his going thither. As I doe understand, Richard Johnson is gone to Novogrode with money to him, I doubt not but Master Gray hath advertised you of all their doings, both at the Mosco and at Novogrod. And touching our doings heere, you shall perceive that wee have solde wares of this fourth voyage for one hundred and fourtie robles, besides fiftie robles of the second and third voyage since the giving up of

my last account, and for wares of the Countrey, you shall understand that I have bought tried and untried for 77. robles foure hundred podes of tried tallowe, besides foure hundred podes that I have given out money for, whereof God graunt good receipt when the time commeth, which is in Lent. And in browne flaxe and hempe I have bought seventeene bercovites, sixe podes and sixteene pound, which cost 28. robles, eleven altines two pence. And as for other kindes of wares I have bought none as yet. And for mastes to bee provided, you shall understand that I wrote a letter to Totma the 28. of this present for fiftie mastes, to wit, for 25. of fifteene fathoms, and 25. of foureteene fathoms, to be an arshine and a halfe at the small ende. And more, I have written for 30. great trees to be two arshines and a halfe at the small end, and for the other that were provided the last yeere, I trust they shall be sent downe in the spring of the yeere. And as concerning the Ropemakers, you shall understand that their abiding place shall bee with you at Colmogro, as I doe thinke Master Gray hath advertised you. For, as Roger Bontinge Master of the woorkes doeth say, there is no place more meete for their purpose then with you: and there it will be made with lesser cost, considering that the pale is the one halfe of it: which is to set one pale more to that, and so for to cover it over, which as they say, will be but little cost. They doe pray that it may bee made sixeteene foote broade, and one hundred and eightie fathoms long: and that in the middle way twentie foote from the pale towarde the water side there may be a house made to tarre in, standing alone by it selfe for danger of fire. The Tarre house that they woulde have made, is to bee fifteene fathoms long, and ten fathoms broade, and they would that house should be made first: for I thinke they will not tarre before they come there. And farther they desire that you will provide for as much tarre as you may, for heere wee have small store, but when the time commeth that it shoulde be made, I will provide as much as I can here, that it may bee sent downe when the Nasade commeth. The stuffe that they have readie spunne is about five thousand waight, and they say that they trust to have by that time they come downe yarne ynough to make 20. cables. As concerning a copie of the Alphabet in ciphers Master Gray hath written hither that Robert Austen had one, which

be willed that he shoulde deliver to you. Thus I surcease, beseeching God to preserve you in health, and to send you your hearts desire.

By yours to command to his power,
Thomas Hawtrey.

A Letter of Master Richard Gray one of the first Agents of the Moscovie companie to Master Henrie Lane at Mosco, written in Colmogro the 19. of Februarie 1558.

Worshipfull Sir, after heartie commendations &c. You shall understand that this Lent commeth to Lampas such a number of men of divers nations with wares, as hath not bene seene these ten yeeres. Thither come many out of Ugori: therefore I would have bene there my selfe, and also have received such money as is owing us in wares by Kerill his brother and Osep Boscovo. For as you well know, thence they will goe with their wares to the Mosco, and make us payment with delayes, as they have done these other yeeres past. Colobone and his partner be departed towards Lampas with seven sleddes laden with victuals. Others also are gone to that Mart. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I assure you since our comming to this countrey have not so many persons gone to the Sea, as will doe this yeere. Trusting that God will send good store of traine oyle, I will cause as much caske to bee in a readinesse as I can, if you shall thinke it meete to send some money before. All our olde hempe is spunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the least, and thirteene Hausers from sixe ynches to three ynches: and all may weigh white eight and twenty thousande pounde weight and upwarde. There is in hempe ockam five thousand pound two hundred weight in twelve sackes at the least: the flaxe that came downe in the Nassadaes with those seven podes that came last is all spunne with a good part of that hempe that came last. God send more shortly, for all that is here and that is comming in the three other sleddes, will bee dispatched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within these few dayes I bought thirteen podes, seven pound of hempe that cost two robles, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that was bought before, shall bee laide in dipping and sounding lines, for it is very

good. There are spent above fiftie barrels of tarre alreadie: you shall understand that these eight workemen will spinne and lay above fourescore and tenne thousand pound of hempe, so it bee dressed readie to their hands, having two to turne the wheeles, and two to winde up. Therefore I have agreed with these two boyes to serve the worshipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them windeth up and is very apt to spinne: therefore I will have two other young men Russes to spinne, if they can finde good sureties for their trueth. I have bene in hand with these two yong men that came out of the Trinitie, and they with me, but under seven pound a yeere they will not serve, nor Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his servant. Therefore I would have three Russes at the least to spinne, five of them will be as good as these three, and will not be so chargeable all, as one of these would be. I thinke it were good that our Nassada were somewhat strengthened in her floore on both sides with plankes of five or sixe ynches thicke, from the stemme to the sterne, as I have written to Thomas Hawtrey at Vologda. Also if you shall so thinke meet, your waxe and tallowe shall bee laden in two Dosnickes, for they bee meete to goe aboord the shippes: I doe intend to set up an house at Boroseva over against the place whereas the shippes shall ride, your advise therein I expect, it shall not cost above three robles, and yet if we will, there shall be two warme roomes in it. As for other matter at this present I have not to trouble you withall, and if it would please you I would be glad to heare some good newes of Master Jenkinson. Thus Jesus be with you and be his guide.

Postscriptum.

As for these our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mayled, but indeede are Jarfawkons. These dayes past our Olen died. So this yeere our Masters of the companie are like to have none, nor any white beares. Neither may any passe out of the realme without a special licence from the Emperour.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I doe I will take foure or five kerseys with me, but as for money there is small store here to carie.

Yours, Richard Gray.

A letter of Thomas Alcocke to the worshipfull Richard Gray, and Henrie Lane Agents in Moscovia from Tirwill in Polonia, written in Tirwill the 26. of Aprill 1558.

My duety premised unto your worships, with commendations &c. It may please you to be advertised, y^t^ my last I sent from Smolensco, which I trust you have received w^t^ other letters to divers of our English men, wherein I certified you of my long retayning there, as also of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a Totar to bring mee to Danske. We came to a certaine village on Satterday the sixe and twentieth of Februarie, and there remained that night and Sunday to refresh our horses, intending to have gone away on Munday earely. But on Saterday at night one of his neighbours departed to Tirwill, and there declared to the Captaine howe that at such a place there was a Dutch man that was come from the Mosco, and woulde ride to Danske, saying, for the one, I cannot tell what he is. The Captaine incontinent ridde to the King to shewe him thereof, so that without any delay there was sent out for mee one of the Gentlemen of the Kings house, and one of the Mesnickes of the Towne with sixe Officers to take mee. They came thither in the night about midnight, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left mee nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and so brought mee to Tirwill to the Captaines house, where before I dyned, I had a payre of fetters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I sate untill it was Munday in the Easterweeke. On which day, after long and earnest calling to the Captaine as hee ridde by the windowe, hee commaunded the Marshall that mine yrons shoulde be taken off, but no worde I could heare when I should be delivered out of captivitie till it was Saint George his day: on which day I was had before the Marshall, who declared unto me that the Kings Majestie had shewed his mercie and goodnesse towardes mee: for his pleasure was that I should be delivered out of prison to depart into England, but no way else. So after I had given thankes for the Kings Majesties goodnesse shewed unto me, I desired him that he woulde be a meane that I might have the remaynder of such thinges as were taken from me restored unto me againe. Hee made me

answere, that I might thanke God that I escaped with my head, and that if ever there came any more of us through the land, they should not so doe. The weeke before Easter they delivered mee my Corobia againe with all thinges that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine Hungers gylderns in golde, five shillings foure pence in Lettoes money, fourtie Altines in Russe money, whereof twentie and more were for tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of Master Doctour Standishes, with his golde ring. Your two pieces of money (Master Gray) that you sent to your wife and daughter, with my two pieces of Boghary money. Of all this I had eight Hungers gilderns delivered mee the thirde weeke of mine imprisonment to paye for my charges, which stoode mee in a Doller a weeke. So that at the day of my deliverie I had but three gyldernes left me. For the rest I made a supplication to the Captaine and had the like answere given mee as the Marshall gave me. So that all the rest of the thinges before written are lost, and no recoverie to bee had, which grieveth me more for the tokens sakes then doeth mine eight weeks imprisonment. They have also my sword, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at Smolensco, which cost me foure marks, my sled, my felt, the comhold, a booke of the Flowres of godly prayers, and my booke wherein my charges were written. Of all these I can get nothing againe, not so much as my two bookes.

After I had remayned there five and thirtie dayes, I was had before the Captaine up into a great chamber to bee examined for letters and of the cause of my comming through the Countrey. In the Captaines companie was one of the Lordes of Danske. They demaunded of mee where my letters were, I declared unto them that I had none: your Officers (sayd I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they searched mee and tooke all that I had from mee, if there be any they shall finde them among my stuffe which they have. They asked mee then, for what cause I went home over lande? I declared unto them, that the Winter beeing a warme season, and having intelligence that The frozen Sea was not much frozen, and supposing this Sommer it would be navigable, I was onely sent to provide a Shippe to bee sent to passe the sayde Seas to discover Cataia: which if God graunted wee might doe, it woulde not onely bee a commoditie to

the Realme of Englande, but unto all Christian landes, by the riches that might bee brought from thence, if the histories bee true that are written thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerning the same voyage. Then he demaunded of mee what wares wee brought into Russia, and what wee carried from thence. I declared the same unto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thousandes of ordinance, as also of harneis, swordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them answere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred shirtes of mayle, such olde thinges newe scowred as no man in Englande woulde weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moscovia too long to commit to writing.

At my comming hither heere were Ambassadours from the townes of Danske, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, as also out of Liefland to desire this king to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to stoppe all such shippes as shoulde goe out of England for Moscovia. Whereunto the King graunted, and immediatly they departed to prepare their shippes. So that I am afraide that either these our enemies, or the great warres that we have with France and Scotland will be an occasion that you shall have no shippes at Colmogro this yeere.

To conclude, although I have no tokens to deliver them, that the tokens taken from me were sent unto, yet I will declare unto them that I had tokens for them, with the mischance. And thus I commit you to Almightie God with the rest of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleasure.

By yours to commaund
THOMAS ALCOCKE.

A Letter of Master Anthonie Jenkinson upon his returne from Boghar to the worshipful Master Henrie Lane Agent for the Moscovie companie resident in Vologda, written in the Mosco the 18. of September, 1559.

WORSHIPFULL Sir, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee advertised that the fourth of this present I arrived with Richard Johnson and Robert Johnson all

in health, thankes bee to God. Wee have bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the uncessant and continuall warres, which are in all these brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any Caravan of people from Boghar that way these three yeeres. And although our journey hath bene so miserable, dangerous, and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the woorshipfull Companies mindes, as touching the discoverie of The Caspian Sea, with the trade of merchandise to bee had in such landes and countreyes as bee thereabout adjacent, and have brought of the wares and commodities of those Countries able to answere the principall with profite: wishing that there were utterance for as great a quantitie of kersies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie, (all such evill fortunes beeing escaped as to us have chaunced this present voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade woorthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large untill your comming, as well touching my travel, as of other things. Sir, John Lucke departed from hence toward England the seventh of this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, by whom I sent a letter to the worshipfull Companie, and have written that I intend to come downe unto Colmogro to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke my selfe for England, declaring that my service shal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to serve their worships in greater affaires then they have heere to doe, so farre as I perceive. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons letters, for that I am but newly arrived. Having here but litle businesse to doe, I send you Richard Johnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giving you most heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana, I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire.

Your assured to command,
Anthonie Jenkinson.

A Letter of the Moscovie companie to their Agents in Russia, Master Henrie Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glover sent in their seventh voyage to Saint Nicholas with three ships, the Swallowe, the Philip and Marie, and the Jesus the fifth of May, 1560.

After our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the last moneth here arrived in safety, thanks be to God, our two ships, & by them we received your letters & invoices very well perceiving what you have laden in them. The tallowe came evill conditioned and broken, by reason it came in Corrobias, wee lose and spoyle more then the Caske will cost, and much of this tallowe is verie evill, blacke, soft and putrified. Touching the Waxe, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will rise, by reason that some of it was lost in the barkes. The weight of the last yeeres waxe did not rise so well as the other yeeres before it did. There had neede good heede to bee taken in the weighing. Also much of this Waxe had a great foote and is not so faire waxe as in times past wee have had. You must cause the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or else you must seeke to have a good allowance for it. The traine Oyles which you laded this yeere came well conditioned, and the caske was good and of a good sise. But if they were made a little bigger it were the better, for they be not hogsheads. You have written to us to send you caske which is not heere to be had, neither doe wee thinke it so best if it were heere, considering it must goe either shaken and bounde up, or else emptie, which will bee pesterable, and likewise will shrinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you shall cause so much caske to bee made there of the sise of hogsheads as will serve both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and seames, and stand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee overseer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymber without knottes, the woorst caske you may put the tallowe in. Hee that seeth the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceive you have bought and have in a readinesse one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede be you may have more store. Wherefore we doe minde to

send you shipping for three hundred tunnes and upwards, because we would have this next Sommer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as also such of our wares as you have that are not vendible, or will not be solde or bartered, because we would have a ful knowledge and state of our accounts. The Sables which you sent this yeere be very base, among them all we could not make one principall timber: we have alwayes written unto you to send them that bee good or else none. The Wolverings were indifferent, and some of the wolves, the rest verie base, the Lusernes but meane, the Lettes not so large skinnes as we have had: the best is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they cost more there with you, then we can sell them for here. Therefore buy no more of them, nor of Squirels, for wee lost the one halfe in the other. The wares that we would have you provide against the comming of the shippes are, Waxe, Tallowe, trayne Oyles, Flaxe, Cables and Ropes, and Furres, such as we have written to you for in our last letters by the shippes: and from hencefoorth not to make any great provision of any rich Furres except principall Sables & Lettes: for now there is a Proclamation made that no furres shall be worne here, but such as the like is growing here within this our Realme. Also we perceive that there might be a great deale of tallowe more provided in a yeere then you send. Therefore our minde is, you should enlarge somewhat more in the price, and to send us if you can three thousand podes a yeere: for we doe most good in it. And likewise the Russes, if you would give them a reasonable price for their wares, woulde be the willinger to buy and sell with you, and not to carie so much to Novogrode as they doe, but woulde rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Waxe, Tallowe, Flaxe, Hempe, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey. Our minde is you should provide for the next ships five hundred Losh hides, of them that be large and faire, and thickest in hand, and to be circumspect in the choosing, that you buy them that bee killed in season and well dryed and whole. If they bee good we may sell them here for sixteene shillings and better the piece, wee would have the whole skinnes, that is, the necke and legges withall, for these that you sent now lacke their neckes and legges. Neverthelesse for this time you must sende them as you may get them: if you coulde finde the meanes that the

haire might bee clipped off them, they woulde not take so much roome in the shippes as they doe. We perceive by your letters that the prices of Waxe doe rise there with you, by reason that the Poles and Lifelanders doe trade into Russia by licence: which, if there shoulde bee peace betweene them, woulde bee an occasion that all other commodities in Russia woulde rise to a bigger price, and not bee sufficient to serve them and us too, and likewise woulde bring downe there the prices of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you shoulde make a supplication to the Emperour in the name of The Companie to returne the trade from Rye and Revel to us, especially for such wares as wee doe buy: promising that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reasonable price, as wee have bought them in times past: and likewise that wee will bring to them such wares of ours, as are thought fitte for the Countrey, and to sell them at such reasonable prices as wee have done. If this shoulde not come to passe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there: but that we have a further hope of some good trade to be found out by Master Antonie Jenkinson: by reason we doe perceive by your letters, that raw silke is as plentifull in Persia, as flaxe is in Russia: beside other commodities that may come from thence. Wee understand by your letters that you be at a point with the Russe for the Waxe, Tallow, and Traine oyles that he shipped the last yere for 311 robles 20 altines, which is well: although much be not gotten by it, but because they should not understand our reckonings. We much marvel what you mean to buy Seale skins and tanne them. All that you have sent in times past lie here unsold, and will yeelde no money. If you send 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee solde, or else not. In our shippe we will send you such things as you write to have for the ropers: and wee would they should make more store of small cables and ropes, as cables of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. inches. For these great cables be not for every man; and the greatest cables bee not best laded: and likewise small ropes for shroudes, sholes, and other small tackeling: and that you looke better to the spinning of their yarne that it be even and well tarred. The sables that you doe mind to send us let them be principall and fayre, and not past foure or five timbars. For they will not be so commonly worne here as they have bin with noble

men: and likewise of Luserns send fewe and principal good. We mind to send you in our shippes 100 tunnes of salte. And because we perceive that balast is hardly to be had at our lading place there with you, we would you should have in a readinesse 100 tunnes of the white stones whereof you sent us home an example two yeres past. And likewise to have in a readinesse mastes of all sortes for our shippes: for we know not what neede wee shall have of them. The bringer hereof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be suffered the last yeare to passe through Poland. And as we wrote unto you in our shippes, hee is our servant for yeares: And for that we know him to be honest, true and painefull, our mind is he shalbe placed where he may do best service. He doth know the commodities and discommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe send us. Therefore we would you should credite his sayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as also wherin is most our profit. We see by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers should remaine there two yeres more; and that you have provided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we have solde none of our cables nor halsers, neither is the proofe of them knowen; because the first you sent us were made of flaxe, which are worth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like mosse. And those which you sent us now last, by misfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and have lost their colour: by meanes whereof they be not so vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we trust God will send us a good ending. We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Jenkinson. We perceive by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Mart towne as the fame hath gone of it: and marvell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you write that you wil come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly have you to remaine there untill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our servants there; who have not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you have had. Neverthelesse if you will needs come away, we have no doubt, but that you will leave good order with our

servants there, namely with Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glover, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agents in your roome, til further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will use themselves so discreetely and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the worship and benefite of this company. And as we have a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: so have we no lesse hope in all the rest of our servants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, paineful, diligent, and true every one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and stubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you shall send him home in our shippes: who shall find such small favour and friendship during the time that he hath to serve, as by his disobedience and evill service hee hath deserved. And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cause, considering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his special friends in his absence, we doubt not but that he wil remain in the roome, which we have appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his service and paines hee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends were living. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most neede is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: nevertheless you shall find him reasonable to serve where he may doe most good. The 62 robles which you received of John Boucher we have payed him here, and also the 8 robles, which you received the yere before of Christopher Rose, and the money which you received more of George Burton, for the which we have you our debtors. Thus we rest, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the bringer: and so God have you in his keeping. Also we would that you should send us in our shippes 200 horse-clothes more. The things before written wee would that you should let our servants see and reade, to the intent they may perceive our mindes.

Another letter to the foresaid parties. 1560.

THIS letter before written is the copie of one sent you by Thomas Alcock, trusting that hee was with you long since. The 26 day of the last moneth we received a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of January, and we perceive by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutch man that came lately from the Mosco, who informed him that our friend Master Antony Jenkinson was returned to the Mosco in September last past, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Also he wrote that one John Lucke a Joyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in prison. As yet wee have not heard from the sayd John Lucke, nor know not whether he be released out of prison or not. We suppose that by him you wrote some letter which as yet is not come to our hands: so that we thinke hee is yet in prison, or otherwise dispatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee received a letter from Christopher Hodson, dated in the Mosco the 29 of July, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of such another received from him in our shippes. You shal understand that we have laden in three good shippes of ours these kind of wares following: to wit, in the Swallowe of London, Master under God Steven Burrow, 34 fardels N° 136 broad short clothes, and foure fardels N° 58 Hampshire Kersies: and 23 pipes of bastards and seckes, and 263 pieces of raisins and 4 hogsheds N° 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogsheds and poncheons of prunes, and one dryfatte with Almonds. And in the Philip and Marie, Master under God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N° 100 broad clothes, and three fardels N° 42 Hampshire Kersies, and thirtie pipes of seckes and bastards, and 100 pieces raisins. And in the Jesus of London, Master under God Arthur Pette, 10 fardels N° 40 broade shorte clothes, and twenty seven pipes of bastards and seckes, as by the Invoices herewith inclosed may appeare: Also you shall receive such necessaries as you did write to bee sent for the rope makers: trusting that you shall have better successe with them which you shall send us in these ships, then with the rest which you have sent us yet: for we as yet have sold none of them. And whereas we wrote unto you in our former letter, that we would send you a hundred tunnes of salte, by reason it is so deare here we

doe send you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it cost here ten pence the bushell the first penie: namely in the Swallow 6 tunnes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Jesus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogsheds of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N° 154 pieces, as is aforesaid. We send you three ships, trusting that you have provided according to our former writing good store of lading for them. If yee have more wares then will lade the ships, let it be Traine oyles that you leave behinde: the price is not here so good as it was: it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you should let the smaller ship bring as much of the traine as she can cary: And that the masters of the ships do looke wel to the romaging, for they might bring away a great deale more then they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and bestowe the traine by it selfe, and the waxe and tallowe by it selfe: for the leakage of the traine doth fowle the other wares much. As for Allard the skinner, if you thinke good, he may come home in these shippes. We have no doubt but that you Henrie Lane, if you minde to come home now in these ships as you requested, will leave such good order there with our servants as shall bee for our most profite and their preferment, if they doe their dueties diligently and truely. If our friend Master Antonie Jenkinson bee returned, and meane to come away in these ships to declare his mind and opinion of his travaile, if need require and he be so minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Januarie or before. But as we be uncertaine whether he be returned or not: so we know not what he hath done, nor what benefite may rise hereafter of his travaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good discretions. Wee send you Thomas Hawtrey which is our servant for yeeres: our minde is he should be placed, where he may doe best service.

Also we send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres: our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for: he hath been kept at writing schoole long: he hath his Algorisme, and hath understanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We send you now but 100 Kersies: but against the next yeere, if occasion serve, wee will send you a greater quantitie, according as you shal advise us: One

of the pipes of seckes that is in the Swallow, which hath 2 round compasses upon the bung, is to be presented to the Emperour: for it is special good. The nete waight of the 10 puncheons of prunes is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly upon the head of ever puncheon: and the nete weight of the fatte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raisins, prunes, and almonds you were best to dispatch away at a reasonable price, and principally the raisins, for in keeping of them will be great losse in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you provide against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and salted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were best to save some of this salt that we doe send you in these ships for the purpose. The salte of that countrey is not so good. In this you may take the opinion of the masters of the shippes. Foxe skins, white, blacke, and russet will be vendible here. The last yere you sent none: but there were mariners that bought many. If any of the mariners doe buy any trifling furres or other commodities, we will they shall be registred in our pursers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We desire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we sent in our ships, as an answere to the letter that came in his name and under his seale for the sixe thousand dallers. Thus wee rest, committing you to God, from London the fift day of May 1560.

For lacke of time the governours have not firmed this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters firmed by them.

Yours, William Mericke.
Yours, Blase Sanders.

The maner of Justice by lots in Russia, written by Master Henrie Lane, and executed in a controversie betweene him and one Sheray Costromitskey in Mosco. 1560.

After the comming home into Russia of Joseph Napea the first ambassadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, sundrie Russian marchants by Josephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and passe in our ships for England: which thing upon good consideration I answered and refused. They were then driven to credite us and compound in value untill the next returne. At which time, notwithstanding

good accompt in the value of 600 robles, there grewe question by their double demand. So in April Anno 1560. before my comming from Moscovia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to have their summe double, or as I proffered 600 robles. For combatte I was provided of a strong willing Englishman, Robert Best, one of the companies servants: whome the Russes with their Champion refused. So that we had the words of our priviledge put in effect, which were to draw lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his castle in his palace and high Court of Moscovia was thus. The Emperours two Treasurers, being also Chancelours and chiefe Judges, sate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the great presse within the rayle or barre, and permitted me to sit downe some distance from them: the adverse parties being without at the barre. Both parties were first perswaded with great curtesie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Russes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithstanding that I protested my conscience to be cleere, and their gaine by accompt to bee sufficient, yet of gentlenes at the magistrates request I made proffer of 100 robles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then sentence passed with our names in two equall balles of waxe made and holden up by the Judges, their sleeves stripped up. Then with standing up and wishing well to the trueth attributed to him that should be first drawen, by both consents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, saying: Thou with such a coate or cap, come up: where roome with speede was made. He was commanded to hold his cappe, wherein they put the balles, by the crowne upright in sight, his arme not abasing. With like circumspection, they called at adventure another tall gentleman, commanding him to strip up his right sleeve, and willed him with his bare arme to reach up, and in Gods name severally to take out the two balles: which he did, delivering to either Judge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball first taken out was mine: which was by open sentence so pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Costromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the summe by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong or sinne, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the

hundred to the Emperor. Many dayes after, as their maner is, the people took our nation to be true and upright dealers, and talked of this judgement to our great credite.

The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, should all followe M. Jenkinsons voyage to Boghar.

The first voyage made by Master Anthonie Jenkinson, from the Citie of London toward the land of Russia, begun the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.

First by the grace of God, the day and yeere above mentioned, I departed from the sayd Citie, and the same day at Gravesend embarked my selfe in a good shippe, named the Primerose, being appointed, although unworthy, chiefe captaine of the same, and also of the other 3 good ships, to say, the John Evangelist, the Anne, and the Trinitie, having also the conduct of the Emperour of Russia his ambassadour named Osep Nepea Gregoriwich, who passed with his company in the sayde Primerose. And thus our foure tall shippes being well appointed, aswell for men as victuals as other necessarie furniture, the saide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the saide Gravesend, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Easterly, and fayre weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the Primerose, upon a sand called the blacke taile, where we sate fast until the 14 day in the morning, and then God be praysed, she came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Easterly, & there remayned untill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balsey slade, and so into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the sayd Goldemore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the said gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the aide of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the Primerose remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three shippes bare into Orwel haven, where I caused the sayd Trinitie to be grounded, searched, and repaired. So we remayned in the said haven, until the 28 day: and then the winde being Westerly, the three shippes that were in the

haven, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth the John Evangelist came on ground upon a sand, called the Andros, where she remained one tide, and the next full sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be praised.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ships weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordnesse, where we came to an anker, because the wind was Northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the Southwest, and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the nesse, and then set our course Northeast & by North untill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth sands. Then we winded North and by West, and Northnorthwest, untill the first of June at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued so untill the second day at noone: then the winde came at Northwest, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped Northnortheast, and Northeast and by North, as the winde shifted, and so continued untill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way untill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the Northwest againe and blew a fresh gale, and so continued untill the seventh day in the morning, we lying with all our shippes close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coast of England againe, and fell overthwart Newcastle, but went not into the haven, & so plied upon the coast the eight day & the ninth.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorthwest, & we were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained untill the seventeenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and set our course North and by East, and so continued the same with a mery winde untill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the sunne, and had the latitude in sixty degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went Northnorth east, and Northeast and by North, until the 25 day. Then we discovered certaine Islands, called Heilick Islands, lying from us Northeast, being in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went north and by West, because we would not come too nigh the land, and running that course foure houres, we

discovered, and had sight of Rost Islands, joining to the main land of Finmarke. Thus continuing our course along the coast of Norway and Finmark, the 27 day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre shot as Lofoot, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared over our heads a rainebow, like a semicircle, with both ends upwarde. Note that there is between the said Rost Islands & Lofoot, a whirle poole called Malestrand, which from halfe ebbe untill halfe flood, maketh such a terrible noise, that it shaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houses of the sayd Islands tenne miles off. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitifull crie. Moreover, if great trees be caried into it by force of streams, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughs of them have bene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of hempe that is bruised. Note, that all the coaste of Finmarke is high mountaines and hils, being covered all the yere with snow. And hard aboord the shoare of this coast, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sailing forward, we fell with an Island called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Island we saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of 60 foot long : and being the ingendring time they roared and cried terriblie. From thence we fell with an Island, called Kettelwicke.

This coast from Rost unto Lofoot lieth North and south, and from Lofoot to Zenam Northeast and southwest, and from Zenam to Kettelwike Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest. From the said Kettelwike we sailed East and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger sound, where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermost land that wee passe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger sound East, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of July, we had the sunne at North 4 degrees above the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouse, having such mists that we could not see the land. This Wardhouse is a Castle standing in an Island 2 miles from the maine of Finland, subject to the king of Denmarke, and the Eastermost land that he hath. There are

two other Islands neere adjoining unto that, whereon the Castle of Wardhouse standeth. The inhabitants of those three Islands live onely by fishing, and make much stockefish, which they dry with frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they have none, but such as is brought them from other places. They have small store of cattell, which are also fed with fish. From Wardhouse we sailed Southsoutheast ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, the Northermost part of the lande of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouse, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called Dommeshaff, in the South part whereof is a Monasterie of Monkes of the Russes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the coast of the said land of Lappia, winding Southeast, the fourth day through great mists and darkenes we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, untill the seventh day, when we fell with a Cape or headland called Swetinoz, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great stone, to the which the barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that unlesse they did so, their barkes or vessels should there perish, as it hath bene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mistie. Note that the sixt day we passed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company perished, which is called Arzina reca, that is to say, the river Arzina.

The land of Lappia is an high land, having snow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they live in the summer time neere the sea side, and use to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remove up into the countrey into the woods, where they use hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolves, Foxes, and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skinnes apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eies. They have none other habitation, but onely in tents, removing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise dayly, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serve them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coast from Swetinoz aforesaid, the ninth day of July wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66 degrees

and 45 minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 20 or 30 fadoms water, and sundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southwest and Northeast. From this Cape wee proceeded along untill we came to Crosse Island, which is seven leagues from the sayd Cape Southwest: and from this Island, wee set over to the other side of the Bay, and went Southwest, and fell with an headland called Foxenose, which is from the sayd Island 25 leagues. The entring of this Bay from Crosse Island to the neerest land on the other side is seven leagues over. From Foxenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the sayd moneth of July, all our foure ships arrived in safetie at the road of Saint Nicholas in the land of Russia, where we ankered, and had sailed from London unto the said roade seven hundred and fifty leagues. The Russian ambassadour and his company with great joy got to shore, and our ships here forthwith discharged themselves: and being laden againe, and having a faire winde, departed toward England the first of August. The third of the sayd moneth I with other of my company came unto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I tarried at the said Colmogro untill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate up the great river of Dwina, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of the river called Pinego, leaving it on our lefte hand fifteene verstes from Colmogro. On both sides of the mouth of this river Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alablaster, great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along within the ground, which by report have lien there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a town called Yemps, an hundred verstes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called Ustiug, an ancient citie the last day of August. At this citie meete two rivers: the one called Jug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforesaid river of Dwina. The river Jug hath his spring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, joining to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Ustiug, and

passing by the river Succana, we came to a towne called Totma. About this place the water is verie shallow, and stonie, and troublesome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Nassades, and Dosneckes, to passe that way: wherein marchandise are transported from the aforesayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. These vessels called Nassades, are very long builded, broade made, and close above, flatte bottomed, and draw not above foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they have none iron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde serveth, they are made to sayle. Otherwise they have many men, some to hale and drawe by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the sayd boats, and some set with long poles. There are many of these barks upon the river of Dwina: And the most part of them belongeth unto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the said boates with carying of salte from the sea side unto the sayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came unto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the river passeth through the midst of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, joyned one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any iron or stone worke, covered with birch barkes, and wood over the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for every parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

On the toppes of their houses they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleven minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verstes.

All the way I never came in house, but lodged in the wildernesse, by the rivers side, and caried provision for the way. And he that will travell those wayes, must carie with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and seethe meate, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, unlesse it be in townes.

The first day of December, I departed from Vologhda in poste in a sled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moscua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27 verstes, so to Olmor 25 verstes, so to Teloytske 20 verstes, so to Ure 30 verstes, so to Voshansko 30 verstes, then to Yeraslave 30 verstes,

which standeth upon the great river Volga, so to Rostove, 50 verstes, then to Rogarin 30 verstes, so to Peraslave 10 verstes, which is a great towne, standing hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verstes, so to Godoroke 30 verstes, so to Owchay 30 verstes, and last to the Mosco 25 verstes, where I arrived the sixt day of December.

There are 14 postes called Yannes betweene Vologhda and Mosco, which are accompted 500 verstes asunder.

The 10 day of December I was sent for to the Emperors Castle by the sayd Emperour, and delivered my letters unto the Secretary, who talked with me of divers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would give me that I desired.

The 25 day, being the day of the nativitie, I came into the Emperors presence, and kissed his hand, who sate aloft in a goodly chaire of estate, having on his heade a crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of gold in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garnished with precious stones.

There sate distant from him about two yardes his brother, and next unto him a boy of twelve yeares of age, who was inheritor to ye Emperor of Casan, conquered by this Emperor 8 yeares past. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at sixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a fayre great hall, in the midst whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were divers tables set, and at the uppermost part of the hall, sate the Emperour himselfe, & at his table sate his brother, his Uncles sonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Casan, and divers of his noble men, all of one side. There were divers Ambassadors, & other strangers, as well Christians as heathens, diversly apparelled, to the number of 600 men, which dined in the sayd hall, besides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselves to the Emperour, and were appointed to serve him in his wars against the Lieflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was set at

a litle table, having no stranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent me divers bowles of wine, and meade, & many dishes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table served all in gold and silver, and so likewise on other tables, there were set bowles of gold, set with stone, worth by estimation 400 pounds sterling one cup, besides the plate which served the tables.

There was also a Cupbord of plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not used: among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with towers, and dragons heads, also divers barrels of gold and silver, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall throughout was served with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, & gave me drinke with his own hand, & so I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company stand up, and at every time he drinketh or tasteth of a dish of meate he blesseth himselfe. Many other things I sawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of January, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all most richly apparelled with gold, pearles, precious stones, and costly furres, with a crowne upon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitan, and divers bishops and priests. That day I was before the Emperour again in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the church, and went with the procession upon the river, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie and service, and did cast of the sayd water upon the Emperors sonne and the Nobility. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water to carie home to their houses, and divers children were throwen in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and divers Tartars christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drink at the sayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace

againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, above 300 strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serve for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperors lodging is in a faire and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated upon a hill, 2 miles about, and the river on the Southwest side of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, & as many bulwarks. His palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the river side. In his palace are Churches, some of stone and some of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the sayd Castle, and for sundry things sundry markets, and every science by it selfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the castle, upon the river being frozen, and there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The castle is in circuit 2900 pases.

The countrey is ful of marish ground, & plaine, in woods and rivers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as wel of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, & Gentiles, called Samoeds, having thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subjection: all matters passe his judgement, be they never so small. The law is sharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They use the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Priests be maried, but their wives being dead, they may not marie the second time, and so become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They have foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrofetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They have many sortes of meats and drinkes, when they banket and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fishe. Before they drinke they use to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, & are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors taverne, and not being able to pay, having impauned himselfe, the Taverner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him upon the legges: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and having peradventure compassion upon him, give the money, and so he is ransomed.

In every good towne there is a drunken Taverne called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, & sometimes bestoweth for a yeare or two on some duke or gentleman, in recompense of his service: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he being growen rich, is taken by the Emperor, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth upon the poore people.

They use sadles made of wood & sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, & the seat covered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitched. They use little drummes at their sadle bowes, by the sound whereof their horses use to runne more swiftly.

The Russe is apparelled in this maner: his upper garment is of cloth of golde, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of silver, or els laces of silke, set on with brooches, the sleeves thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed up. Under that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing up of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silk, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Under his shirt he hath linnen breeches, upon his legs, a paire of hose without

feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of silver, gold, pearle, or stone, and under it a blacke Foxe cap, turned up very broad.

When he rideth on horsebacke to the warres, or any journey, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same maner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of knives, having the hafts of the tooth of a fish, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people travell with sleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and rivers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man upon it 400 miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and travelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, never goeth out of his house in the winter, but upon his sled, and in Summer upon his horse: and in his sled he sits upon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolves tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy upon his backe: his servants stand upon the taile of the sled &c.

The voyage, wherein Osep Napea the Moscovite Ambassadour returned home into his countrey, with his entertainement at his arrivall, at Colmogro: and a large description of the maners of the Countrey.

THE twelfth of Maye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Gravesend, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Russia: with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osep Gregoriwich Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moscovia. The foure ships were these, whose names follow, viz.

The Primerose Admirall.
The John Evangelist Viceadmirall.
The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13 of July, the foresayd foure shippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, befor an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the sayde Messenger,

Osep Gregoriwich Napea went a shoare, and as many English men as came to serve the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the space of sixe daies, untill he had gotten all his things a shoare, and laden the same in barkes, to goe up the river Dwina, unto Vologhda, which is by water 1000 verstes, and every verste is about three quarters of an English mile.

The 20 of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the same, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the sayd Messenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent unto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered bread & pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fishes, swannes, geese, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victuals, both fish and flesh, in the best maner, that the rude people could devise: for among them, these presents are highly esteemed.

The 29 of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of August we came to Ustiug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of August, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 daies unlading the barkes, and lading our chestes and things in small waggons, with one horse in a piece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with these Telegoes they caried our stuffe from Vologhda unto the Mosco, which is 500 verstes: and we were upon the same way 14 daies: for we went no faster then the Telegoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Mosco and Vologhda, that is to say, Yeraslave, Rostave, and Pereslave. Upon one side of Yeraslave runneth a famous river, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caspian sea, and it devideth it selfe before it come into the Mare Caspium, in 50 parts or more, and neere unto the same sea there stands a great Citie, called Boghar, the inhabitants of the which are called by the same name.

The people of the said Citie doe traffique unto the Citie of Mosco: their commodities are spices, muske, ambergreese, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring also many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Mosco: the sayd people are of the sect of Mahomet.

The 12 of September we came unto the citie of Mosco,

where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen unto a large house, where every one of us had his chamber appointed.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come unto the Emperour, and immediatly after our comming we were brought into his presence, unto whom each of us did his duetie accordingly, and kissed his right hand, his majestie sitting in his chaire of estate, with his crowne on his head, and a staffe of goldsmiths worke in his left hand well garnished with rich and costly stones: and when we had all kissed his hand and done our dueties, his majestie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome unto him, and into his countrey, & thereupon willed us to dine with him: that day we gave thanks unto his majestie, and so departed untill the dinner was readie.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were set on one side of a table that stoode over against the Emperours table, to the end that he might wel behold us al: and when we came into the foresayd chamber, we found there readie set these tables following.

First at the upper end of one table were set the Emperour his majestie, his brother, & the Emperour of Cazan, which is prisoner. About two yardes lower sate the Emperour of Cazan his sonne, being a child of five yeeres of age, and beneath him sate the most part of the Emperors noble men.

And at another table neere unto the Emperours table, there was set a Monke all alone, which was in all points as well served as the Emperour. At another table sate another kind of people called Chirkasses, which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to serve against his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforesayde were covered onely with salt and bread, and after that we had sitten a while, the Emperour sent unto every one of us a piece of bread, which were given and delivered unto every man severally by these words: The Emperour and great Duke giveth the bread this day, and in like manner three or foure times before dinner was ended, he sent unto every man drinke, which was given by these words, The Emperour and great Duke giveth thee to drinke. All the tables

aforesayd were served in vessels of pure and fine golde, as well basons and ewers, platters, dishes and sawcers, as also of great pots, with an innumerable sorte of small drinking pottes of divers fashions, whereof a great number were set with stone. As for costly meates I have many times seene better: but for change of wines, and divers sorts of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time so much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might have bin set, and as far as I could perceive, all the rest were in the like maner served.

In the dinner time there came in sixe singers which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperor, who sang there before dinner was ended three severall times, whose songs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour never putteth morsell of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe, & in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, & he esteemeth his religious men above his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of five houres, which being ended, and the tables taken up, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reverence unto the Emperors majestie, and then he delivered unto every one of us with his own hands a cup of mead, which when every man had received and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licenced to depart, & so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would have us to be mery, he sent to our lodging the same Evening three barrels of meade of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour sent home unto our lodging for every of us a Tartarie horse to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streetes of Mosco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

The 18 of September there were given unto master Standish doctor in Phisick, and the rest of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched velvet and gold, and some of red damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine, and some with gray Squirel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beaver.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come unto the Emperors court, and when we came thither, we were brought unto the Emperor unto whom we did our duties accordingly: wherupon he willed us to dine with him that day, and so with thanks unto his majestie, we departed untill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables covered with bread and salt as at the first: & after that we were all set upon one side of the table, the Emperors majestie according to his accustomed maner sent unto every man a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14 of September we were served in vessels of gold, we were now served in vessels of silver, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke unto the table in silver boles which conteined at the least sixe gallons a piece, and everie man had a smal silver cuppe to drinke in, & another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gave unto every one of us a cup with meade, which when we had received, we gave thanks and departed.

Moreover, whensoever the Emperors pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, he doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, he with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies observeth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gave unto M. Standish 70 rubles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of November we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were served as before.

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscovites hold: we were served in silver vessels and ordered in all points as before, and it was past 7 of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

The Emperors majestie useth every yeare in the moneth of December, to have all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to have it planted and bent upon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses there were two faire white

markes set up, at which markes they discharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They have faire ordinance of brasse of all sortes, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culverings, cannons double and royall, basiliskes long and large, they have sixe great pieces whose shot is a yard of height, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee: they have also a great many of morter pieces or potguns, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.

The 12 of December the Emperors Majestie and all his nobility came into the field on horsebacke, in most goodly order, having very fine Jennets & Turkie horses garnished with gold & silver abundantly. The Emperors majestie having on him a gowne of rich tissue, & a cap of skarlet on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones: his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. and before them there went 5000 harquebusiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, every of them carying his gun upon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foresayd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperors majestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about threescore yardes off from the stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and sixe foote high set up, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperors majestie came into the field, the harquebusiers went upon the stage of poles where they setled themselves in order. And when the Emperors majestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot off, the harquebusiers began to shoot off at the banke of ice, as though it had bin in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting, untill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot off their wild fire up into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the smal pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, untill the last and biggest. When they had shot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them al off 3 times after the first order, beginning

with the smallest, and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2 houses that they shot unto were beaten in pieces, & yet they were very strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came foorth into the field. The ordinance is discharged every yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Majestie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were served as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we never saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperors presence above 500 strangers, and two hundred Russes, and all they were served in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another upon the tables. Besides this there were foure cupbords garnished with goodly plate both of gold & silver. Among the which there were 12 barrels of silver, conteining above 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of every barrell were 6 hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about sixe houres.

Every yeare upon the 12 day they use to blesse or sanctifie the river Moscua, which runneth through the citie of Mosco, after this maner.

First, they make a square hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large every way, which is trimmed about the sides & edges with white boords. Then about 9 of the clocke they come out of the church with procession towards the river in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine young men with waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie upon their shoulders: after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitane who is led betweene two priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne upon his head, and after his majestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the procession unto the water, & when they came unto the hole that was made, the priests set themselves in order round about it. And at one side of the same poole there was a scaffold of boords made, upon which stood a faire chaire

in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours majestie stood upon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to blesse and to sense, and did their service, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise upon certaine of the Dukes, & then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water: but that preasse that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wonderful to behold, for there came above 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Moscovite which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe unhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the prease was a litle gone, the Emperours Jennets and horses were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their horses thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horses as holy as themselves.

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were served in vessels of silver, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The Russes begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Easter: the first weeke they eate egs, milke, cheese & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another, & from the same Sunday until our Shrofesunday there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accompted for no reproch or shame among them.

The next weeke being our first weeke of Lent, or our clensing weeke, beginning our Shrofesunday, they make and keepe a great fast. It is reported, and the people do verily beleeve that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the space of seven dayes, and they say that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperors Majestie eateth but one morsel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houses during that time, so that the streetes are almost void of company, saving a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other sixe weekes they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheese, egs or milke.

On Palme sunday they have a very solemne processio in this maner following.

First, they have a tree of a good bignesse which i made fast upon two sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raisins, figs an dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In th midst of ye same tree stand 5 boyes in white vestures which sing in the tree before the procession: after thi there followed certaine yong men with waxe tapers i their hands burning, & a great lanterne that al the ligh should not go out: after them followed two with long banners, & sixe with round plates set upon long staves the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thin: the followed 6 carying painted images upon their shoulders after the images followed certaine priests to the numbe of 100 or more, with goodly vestures, wherof 10 or 12 ar of white damaske, set and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as pease, and among them certaine Sapphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperors majestie and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

First, there is a horse covered with white linnen cloth down to ye ground, his eares being made long with the same cloth like to an asses ears. Upon this horse the Metropolitane sitteth sidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldsmiths worke upon the cover, which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which spread abroad their garments before the horse, and as soone as the horse is past over any of them, they take them up againe and run before, and spred them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spred the garments are all priests sonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giveth unto them new garments.

One of the Emperors noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe going on foote leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from

one church to another within the castle, about the distance of two flights shot: and so returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their service. Which being done, the Emperours majestie and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke untill Easter day they kept very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and upon Munday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes use to receive the Sacrament, and so doe most of his nobles.

Upon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they use every yere on good Friday to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the Church where they sleepe untill the next morning, & at Easter they have the resurrection, & after every of the Lents they eat flesh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They have an order at Easter which they alwaies observe, and that is this: every yere against Easter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of egs, of which every man and woman giveth one unto the priest of their Parish upon Easter day in the morning. And moreover the common people use to carie in their hands one of their red egs, not onely upon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen have egs gilded which they cary in like maner. They use it as they say for a great love, and in token of the resurrection, whereof they rejoyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holy dayes, they come & take one another by the hand: the one of them sayth, the Lord or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a truth, and then they kisse and exchange their egs both men and women, continuing in kissing 4 dayes together.

The 12 of Aprill being Tuesday in the Easter weeke, master Jenkinson and master Graie, and certayne other of us English men dined with the Emperor, where we were served as we had bin before time. And after diner the Emperours majestie gave unto master Jenkinson and unto M. Gray, and so orderly unto every one of us a cup of Mead, according to his accustomed maner which when every man had received and given thanks, M. Jenkinson stepped into the midst of the chamber before the

Emperours majestie, and gave thankes to his highnesse for his goodnesse unto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did Master Gray. His majestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted unto master Jenkinson his letters under his great seale, unto all princes through whose dominions master Jenkinson should have occasion to passe, that he might the sooner and quietlier passe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, master Jenkinson and Gray lowly submitted themselves, thanking his majestie. So the Emperour gave unto either of them a cuppe of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards Enggland, the Chancellors sent unto us and willed us to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed us a great number of the Emperors jewels, and rich robes, willing us to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arrivall into England, we might make report what we had seene there.

The chiefest was his majesties crowne, being close under the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher then the top of the crown upon a small wier, it was as big as a good beane: the same crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. robles.

Wee sawe all his majesties robes which were very richly set with stones, they shewed us manie other great stones of divers kindes, but the most part of them were uneven, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more esteeme the greatnesse of stones, then the proportion of them.

We saw two goodly gownes which were as heavie as a man could easily carrie, all set with pearles over and over: the gards or borders round about them were garnished with saphires and other good stones abundantly. One of the same gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the rest of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tissue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had sufficiently perused all these things, they willed master Gray at his arrivall in England, to provide if he could, such jewels and rich clothes as he had seene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly bestow his money upon such things.

So we tooke our leave the same time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The maners, usages, and ceremonies of the Russes. Of the Emperour.

The Emperours name in their tongue is Ivan Vasilivich, that is as much to say, as John the sonne of Vasilie and by his princely state hee is called Otesara, as his predecessors have bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giveth not tribute to any man. And this word Otesara his majesties interpreters have of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, so that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Russia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but only Ruese Velike, that is to say, great Duke. And as this Emperor which now is Ivan Vasilivich, doeth exceede his predecessors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, even so much by report he doeth exceede them in stoutnesse of courage and valiantnesse, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larks.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the most part are these: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Liffland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a stoute and a hardie people as any under the Sunne.

This Emperour useth great familiaritie, as wel unto all his nobles and subjects, as also unto strangers which serve him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his presence, and besides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloved of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, so that I thinke no prince in Christendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloved. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he give any evil or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his

majesties presence againe of a long time if he be not sent for, but will faine him to be very sicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shaving, which is an evident token that hee is in the Emperors displeasure: for when they be in their prosperity, they account it a shame to weare long haire, in consideration whereof, they use to have their heads shaven.

His majesty heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giveth sentence, and judgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly unto the Metropolitane.

His majestie retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serve him, and especially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musicke, but setteth all his whole delight upon two things: First, to serve God, as undoubtedly he is very devoute in his religion, and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and silver in his owne handes or treasurie: but the most part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

The Metropolitane is next unto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors majesty judgeth & affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himselfe; for that, saith he, he is Gods spiritual officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his majestie submitteth himselfe unto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horse upon Palme sunday, and giving him leave to sitte on a chaire upon the 12. day, when the river Mosco was in blessing, his majestie standing on the yce.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the causes and giveth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They have both monks, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great & rich monasteries: they keepe great

hospitalitie, and doe relieve much poore people day by day. I have bene in one of the monasteries called Troietes, which is walled about with bricke very strongly like a castle, and much ordinance of brasse upon the walles of the same. They told me themselves that there are seven hundred brethren of them which belong unto that house. The most part of the lands, towns, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong unto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or upon the wals of the Church round about, and even the roofe of the church was painted ful of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphirs and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bignesse, & there stands a kettle full of waxe with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed me a coffin covered with cloth of gold which stoode upon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who never eate or dranke, and yet that he liveth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeved them) that he healeth many diseases, and giveth the blind their sight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of belief because I saw him worke no miracle whilest I was there.

After this they brought me into their sellers, and made me taste of divers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quassie, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drink as they have in their sellers, I doe suppose few princes have more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an unmeasurable bignes & sise: some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they have none in their sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They have 9. or 10. great vautes which are full of those barrels which are seldome remooved: for they have trunks which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in sundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, having the caske right under it to receive the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the stayres.

They give bread, meat and drinke unto all men that

come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serve them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the Realm, and the Emperors majesty rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and have boats which passe too and fro in the rivers with merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no flesh during their lives as it is reported: but upon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday it is lawful for them to eate egges, butter, cheese and milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their lives.

They weare all blacke garments, and so doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

They have no preachers no not one in al the land to instruct the people, so that there are many, & the most part of the poore in the country, who if one aske them how many gods there be, they wil say a great many, meaning that every image which they have is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours majesty himselfe wil blesse and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in so much that they will crie earnestly unto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their law to have those images in their houses, and over every gate in all their townes and cities are images set up, unto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or crosse they do in like maner. And when they come to any house, they blesse themselves 3. or 4. times before they will salute any man in the house.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them over and about with gold, silver and stones, and hang them over and about with cloth of gold.

The priestes are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their night-caps, which is cloth of some sad colour, being round, &

reacheth unto the eares: their crownes are shaven, but the rest of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares upon their shoulders: their beards they never shave: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They minister the Communion with bread and wine after our order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup unto the wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: and they take the bread out againe with a spoon together with part of the wine, and so take it themselves, and give it to others that receive with them after the same maner.

Their ceremonies are al as they say, according to the Greeke Church used at this present day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their sacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, unto the which the people when they assemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I have before said, that some will have knobbes upon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

All their service is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people have no other praiers but this, Ghospodi Jesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe. That is to say, O Lorde Jesus Christ, sonne of God have mercy upon us: and this is their prayer, so that the most part of the unlearned know neither Pater noster, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor scarcely understand the one halfe of their service which is read in their Churches.

Of their Baptisme.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized until the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it must tary until the second Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth formost, carying the childe, & the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small table ready set, and on it an earthen pot ful of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, settle themselves: then the

clearke giveth unto every of them a smal waxe candle burning, then commeth the priest, and beginneth to say certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers must answere word for word, among which one is, that the childe shal forsake the devill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe over it: then he taketh al the candles which the gosseps have, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giveth every one his candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a small tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all upon the childs head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with spittle, and making certaine crosses with oyle upon the backe, head, and brest of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and speaketh unto the images, desiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may live, and beleeve as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a paire of sheares and clippeth the yong and tender haires of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then delivereth the childe, whereunto every of the Godfathers & Godmothers lay a hand: then the priest chargeth them, that the childe be brought up in the faith & feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege and bow to the images, and so they make an end: then one of the Godfathers must hang a crosse about the necke of the childe, which we must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that we are no Christians, because we do not weare crosses as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

THEIR matrimonie is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is love betweene the parties, the man sendeth unto the woman a small chest or boxe, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, silke, linnen cloth, sheares, and

such necessaries as shee shall occupie when she is a wife, and perhaps sendeth therwithall raisins, figs or some such things, giving her to understand, that if she doe offend, she must be beaten with the whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that she should apply her selfe diligently to sowe, and do such things as shee could best doe, and by the raisins or fruites he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shalbe withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and she sendeth unto him a shirt, handkerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they shall goe towardes the Church, the bride will in no wise consent to go out of the house, but resisteth and striveth with them that would have her out, and faineth her selfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being covered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceived: for she maketh a great noise, as though she were sobbing and weeping, until she come at the Church, and then her face is uncovered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they cary with them to the church a great pot with wine or mead: then the priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to love and serve the other during their lives together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, hasting immediatly to tread upon it, and so doth she, and whether of them tread first upon it must have the victorie and be master at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face beeing uncovered. The boyes in the streetes crie out and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonest wordes.

When they come home, the wife is set at the upper end of the table, and the husband next unto her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance have a minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time before all the companie. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the evening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they

are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and silver, if he have it, into one of his boots, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legges, and then the bride must plucke off one of his boots, which she will, and if she happen on the boote wherein the money is, she hath not onely the money for her labor, but is also at such choyse, as she need not ever from that day forth to pul off his boots, but if she misse the boot wherin the money is, she doth not onely loose the money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their friends, and during the same three daies he is called a Duke, & shee a dutches, although they be very poore persons, and this is as much as I have learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, & the women say, that if their husbands did not beate them, they should not love them.

They use to marry there very yong, their sonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yonger: they use to keepe their wives very closely, I meane those that be of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when she goeth to church at Christmas or at Easter, or els going to visite some of her friends.

The most part of the women use to ride a stride in saddles with styrrops, as men do, and some of them on sleds, which in summer is not commendable.

The husband is bound to finde the wife colours to paint her withall, for they use ordinarily to paynt themselves: it is such a common practise among them, that it is counted for no shame: they grease their faces with such colours, that a man may discerne them hanging on their faces almost a flight shoote off: I cannot so well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as jeat.

The best propertie that the women have, is that they can sowe well, and imbroder with silke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

When any man or woman dieth, they stretch him out, and put a new paire of shooes on his feete, because he hath a great journey to goe: then doe they winde him in a sheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a testimonie in his right hand, which the priest giveth him, to testifie unto S. Nicholas that he died a Christian man or woman. And they put the coarse alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinsemen of the partie departed carrie in their hands small waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or such like, have no testimonie with them: how they are received into heaven, it is a wonder, without their pasport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a small time, within these two yeeres, above 80. persons young and old, which have died onely for lacke of sustenance: for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to live: for a great many are forced in the winter to drie straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the least they eate it in stead of bread. In the summer they make good shift with grasse, herbes and rootes: barks of trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I suppose, that live so miserably as do the poverty in those parts: and the most part of them that have sufficient for themselves, and also to relieve others that need, are so unmerciful that they care not how many they see die of famine or hunger in the streets.

It is a countrey full of diseases, divers, and evill, and the best remedie is for anie of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often unto the hote houses, as in a maner every man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly twise every weeke, and all the housholde sweate, and wash themselves therein.

The names of certaine sortes of drinkes used in Russia, and commonly drunke in the Emperours Court.

The first and principall meade is made of the juice or liccour taken from a berrie called in Russia, Malieno,

which is of a marveilous sweete taste, and of a carmosant colour, which berry I have seene in Paris.

The second meade is called Visnova, because it is made of a berry so called, and is like a black gooseberrie: but it is like in colour and taste to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, short, of a small berry much like to the small rezin, and groweth in great plentie in Russia.

The fourth meade is called Cherevnikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is also a delicate drinke drawn from the root of the birch tree, called in the Russe tongue Berozevites, which drinke the noble men and others use in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the spring time: for after those moneths, the sappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot have it.

The voyage of Master Anthony Jenkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yeere 1558: written by himselfe to the Merchants of London of the Moscovie companie.

The 23. day of April, in the yeere 1558. (having obtained the Emperor of Russia his letters, directed unto sundry kings and princes, by whose dominions I should passe) I departed from Mosco by water, having with mee two of your servants, namely, Richard Johnson, & Robert Johnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with divers parcels of wares, as by the inventory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a town called Collom, distant from the Mosco 20. leagues, & passing one league beyond the saide Collom, we came unto a river called Occa, into the which the river Mosco falleth, and looseth his name: and passing downe the said river Occa 8. leagues, we came unto a castle called Terrevettisko, which we left upon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, we came unto another castle called Peroslave, distant 8. leagues, leaving it also on our right hand. The third day we came unto the place where olde Rezan was situate, beeing now most of it ruined and overgrowen, and distant from the said Peroslave, 6. leagues: the 4. day we passed by a castle called Terrecovia, from Rezan 12. leagues, & the 6. day we came to another castle called Cassim, under

the government of a Tartar prince named Utzar Zegoline, sometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now subject unto the Emperour of Russia. But leaving Cassim on our left hand, the 8. day we came unto a faire town called Morom, from Cassim 20. leagues, where we took the sonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came unto another faire town & castle called Nyse Novogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid river Occa into the worthie river of Volga, distant from the saide Moron 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. From Rezan to this Nyse Novogrod, on both sides the said river of Occa, is raised the greatest store of waxe and hony in all the land of Russia. We tarried at the foresaid Nyse Novogrod until the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who beeing arrived, and having the number of 500. great boates under his conduct, some laden with victuals, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandise, departed altogether the said 19. day from the said Nyse Novogrod, and the 22. we came unto a castle called Vasiliagorod, distant 25. leagues, which we left upon our right hand. This towne or castle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vasilius, and gorod in the Russe tongue is as much to say as a castle, so that Vasiliagorod is to say, Vasilius castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this present Emperour his sonne, called Ivan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Mahometists and Gentiles, but especially against the Tartars, inlarging his Empire even to the Caspian sea, having conquered the famous river of Volga, with all the countreis thereabout adjacent. Thus proceeding on our journey the 25. day of May aforesaide, wee came to another castle called Sabowshare, which wee left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordovits, and the habitants did professe the law of the Gentiles: but nowe beeing conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

The 27. day we passed by another castle called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare aforesaid 25. leagues: we left

it on our right hand, and the 29. came unto an Island one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a river called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foresaide Volga. Cazan is a faire town after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castle, situated upon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber & earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath given order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free stone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9. yeres past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the king captive, who being but young is nowe baptised, and brought up in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the said Cazan, and being ech of them in time of their raignes in danger of their subjects through civil discord, came and rendred themselves at several times unto the said Emperor, so that at this present there are three princes in the court of Russia, which had bene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour useth with great honour.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of June, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants, because it was woont to be a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and divers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but nowe it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco unto Mare Caspium.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we passed by a goodly river called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This river falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the river of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan and the said river Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and live in the wildernesse without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of Volga over against the said river Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the said Volga from the said river unto Astracan, and so following the North and Northeast side of the Caspian

sea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Astracan, through civill warres among them, accompanied with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort that in the said yeere there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, above one hundred thousand: the like plague was never seen in those parts, so that the said countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now unreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who have had cruel warres a long time together.

The Nagayans when they flourished, lived in this maner: they were divided into divers companies called Hords, and every Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse. Towne or house they had none, but lived in the open fields, every Murse or King having his Hords or people about him, with their wives, children and cattell, who having consumed the pasture in one place, remooved unto another: and when they remoove they have houses like tents set upon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, & therin their wives, children, and all their riches, which is very litle, is caried about, and every man hath at the least foure or five wives besides concubines. Use of money they have none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no arte nor science, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they be pasturing people, and have great store of cattel, which is all their riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the horse, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious & inclined to theft and murther. Corne they sowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying we live by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the same, allowing their great devouring of flesh, and drinking of milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my journey.

All the countrey upon our right hand the river Volga, from over against the river Cama unto the towne of Astracan, is the land of Crimme, whose inhabitants be

also of the lawe of Mahomet, and live for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, having continual wars with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the fielde, having countenance, and support from the great Turke.

The 16. day of June we passed by certaine fishermens houses called Petowse twenty leagues from the river Cama, where is great fishing for sturgeon, so continuing our way untill the 22. day, and passing by another great river called Samar, which falleth out of the aforesaide countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the saide river of Volga. The 28. day wee came unto a great hill, where was in times past a castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the just midway betweene the said Cazan and Astrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. Upon all this shore groweth abundance of Licoris, whose root runneth within the ground like a vine.

Thus going forward the sixt day of July we came to a place called Perovolog, so named because in times past the Tartars caried their boates from Volga unto the river Tanais, otherwise called Don, by land, when they would robbe such as passed downe the said Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the river Tanais, to Asou, Caffa, or any other towne situated upon Mare Euxinum, into which sea Tanais falleth, who hath his springs in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perovolog from the one river to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeves and robbers, but now it is not so evill as it hath bene, by reason of the Emperour of Russia his conquests.

Departing from Perovolog, having the wildernesse on both sides, wee sawe a great heard of Nagayans, pasturing, as is abovesaid, by estimation above a thousand Camels drawing of cartes with houses upon them like tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hord was belonging to a great Murse called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driven away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children, and having peace with this Emperour of Russia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the Russes live in peace with the

Nagayans, who were wont to have mortall warres together.

The 14. day of July passing by an old castle, which was Old Astracan, and leaving it upon our right hand, we arrived at New Astracan, which this Emperour of Russia conquered sixe yeeres past, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Mosco unto Astracan sixe hundreth leagues, or thereabout. The towne of Astracan is situated in an Island upon a hill side, having a castle within the same, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor strong: The towne is also walled about with earth: the buildings and houses (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) most base and simple. The Island is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants live, having great scarsitie of flesh and bread. They hang up their fish in their streets and houses to dry for their provision, which causeth such abundance of flies to increase there, as the like was never seene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the sayd Astracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselves to the Russes their enemies, & to seeke succour at their hands, their countrey being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill entertained or relieved, for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Island through in heapes dead, and like to beasts unburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it had bene an easie thing to have converted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Russes themselves had bene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion unto other Nations, when they are not mercifull unto their owne? At my being there I could have bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would have had a thousand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread woorth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such merchandise. This Astracan is the furthest hold that this Emperour of Russia hath

conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither every yere provision of men, and victuals, and timber to build the castle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandise there used, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not woorth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from divers places. The chiefest commodities that the Russes bring thither are redde hides, redde sheepes skinnes, woodden vessels, bridles, and saddles, knives, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither divers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with divers kindes of wrought silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely from Shamacki doe bring sowing silke, which is the coursest that they use in Russeland, Crasko, divers kinds of pide silkes for girdles, shirts of male, bowes, swords, and such like things: and some yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all those parts woorth the folowing.

This foresaid Island of Astracan is in length twelve leagues, and in bredth three, & lieth East and West in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, nine minutes: we taried there until the sixt day of August, and having bought and provided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods and imbarked our selves, and the same day departed I, with the said two Johnsons having the whole charge of the Navigation downe the sayd river Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caspian sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the sayd river, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesayd, in the latitude of fortie six degrees, twentie seven minutes.

Volga hath seventie mouthes or fals into the sea: and we having a large wind, kept the Northeast shore, and the eleventh day we sailed seven leagues Eastnortheast, and came unto an Island having an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the sea. From thence East tenne leagues, we fell with another Island called Bawhiata, much higher then the other. Within these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great Baie

called the Blew sea. From thence wee sailed East and by North ten leagues, and having a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a fadome water, and so rid untill the fifteenth day, having a great storme at Southeast, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weyed, and set our course Southeast, and that day sailed eight leagues.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirtie leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a land called Baughleata, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great devotion is used of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way.

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding Eastsoutheast, we sailed tenne leagues, and passed by a great river called Iaic, which hath his spring in the lande of Siberia, nigh unto the foresaid river Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And up this river one dayes journey is a Towne called Serachick, subject to the aforesaid Tartar prince called Murse Smille, which is nowe in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandize used, for that the people have no use of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattel, and given much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker against this river Iaic, and all our men being on land, saving I, who lay sore sicke, and five Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because he came from Mecka, there came unto us a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded us, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiving that, asked them what they would have, and withall made a prayer: with that these rovers staied, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their countrey, and out of living, & came to see if there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke? To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, avowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rovers beleeved, and

upon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were saved, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the 20. of August sailed 16. leagues.

The 21. day we passed over a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, having two Islands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: & doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great river Yem, springing out of the land of Colmack.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and wee sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Island of lowe land, and there about are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Island there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Island, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds & flats, and ran that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and passing along the coast 20. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed over a Bay, the South shore being the higher land, and fel with a high point of land: & being overthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should have perished: this storme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we passed to a port called Manguslave. The place where we should have arrived at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driven unto another land on ye other side the Bay, overthwart the sayd Manguslave being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the haven, as of those brute field people, where never barke nor boate had before arrived, not liked of us.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to land to talke with the governour and people, as well for our good usage at their handes, as also for provision of camels to carry our goods from the sayd sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing five and twentie dayes journey. Our messengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we discharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently entertained of the Prince & of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest us, either by fighting, stealing or begging, raising the prise of horse and camels, & victuals, double that it was woont there to be, and forced us to buy the water that we did drinke: which caused us to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the prise of such as wee bought, with other provision, according to their owne demaund: So that for every camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to give three hides of Russia, and foure woodden dishes, and to the Prince or governour of the sayd people, one ninth, and two seventhes: Namely, nine severall things, and twise seven severall things: for money they use none.

And thus being ready, the foureteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caravan of a thousand camels. And having travailed five dayes journey, we came to another Princes Dominion, and upon the way there came unto us certaine Tartars on horseback, being well armed, and servants unto the saide Prince called Timor Soltan, governour of the said countrey of Manguslave, where wee meant to have arrived and discharged our barke, if the great storm aforesayd had not disappointed. These aforesaid Tartars stayed our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their saide prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much dissension) I ridde unto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his favour, and pasport to travaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me. and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be well feasted with flesh and mares milke: for bread they use none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to give mee for such things as he tooke of mee, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gave me his letter, and a horse woorth seven rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone unto him, I understoode his com-

maundement was, that I should have beene robbed and destroyed.

This Soltan lived in the fieldes without Castle or towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a litle rounde house made of reedes covered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Country, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with divers other of his chiefe men. The Soltan with this Metropolitan demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as unto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So having leave I departed and overtooke our Caravan, and proceeded on our journey, and travailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carying provision of victuals with us for the same time, and were driven by necessity to eate one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said 20. daies we found no water, but such as we drew out of old deepe welles, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came unto a gulfe of the Caspian sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweete: at this gulfe the customers of the king of Turkeman met us, who took custome of every 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the saide king and his brethren, which being received they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selves.

Note that in times past there did fal into this gulf the great river Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountains of Paraponisus in India, & now commeth not so far, but falleth into another river called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, & consumeth himself in the ground passing under ground above 500. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

We having refreshed our selves at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the seventh day arrived at a castle called Sellizure, where ye king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his presence, to whom I delivered the Emperors letters of

Russia: and I also gave him a present of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milk without bread. And the next day he sent for me again, and asked of me divers questions, as wel touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gave me his letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated upon an high hill, where the King called the Can Iyeth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and have litle trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eate after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruite called a Carbuse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne called Iegur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serveth all that countrey is drawen by ditches out of the river Oxus, unto the great destruction of the said river, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that land is like to be destroied, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the river of Oxus shal faile.

The 14. day the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arrived at a citie called Urgence, where we paid custome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and horses. And having there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further travaile, the king of that countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Corasan, within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom he and the rest of the kings of Tartaria have continuall warres. Before this king also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperors letters of Russia, and he intertained me wel, and demanded of me divers questions, and at my departure gave me his letters of safeconduct.

This city or towne of Urgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by civill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not sell above 4. kerseis. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most smal quantity not worth the writing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Urgence is called the land of Turkeman, & is subject to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which be five in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed saving in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for every one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwayes to destroy another, having no natural love among them, by reason that they are begotten of divers women, and commonly they are the children of slaves, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and every Can or Sultan hath at the least 4. or 5. wives, besides yong maidens and boyes, living most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is overcome if he be not slaine, flieth to the field with such companie of men as will followe him, and there liveth in the wildernesse resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoileth as many Caravans of Marchants and others as they be able to overcome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, until such time as he may get power and aide to invade some of his brethren againe. From the Caspian sea unto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countreis about the said Sea, the people live without towne or habitation in the wilde fields, removing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they have great store, as camels, horses, and sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild horses which the Tartars doe many times kil with their hawkes, and that in this order.

The hawkes are lured to sease upon the beasts neckes

or heads, which with chafing of themselves and sore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth slay the horse with his arrow or sword. In all this lande there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars never ride without their bow, arrowes, and sword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good archers both on horsebacke, and on foote also. These people have not the use of golde, silver, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their cattell for the same. Bread they have none, for they neither till nor sow: they be great devourers of flesh, which they cut in smal pieces, & eat it by handfuls most greedily, & especially the horseflesh. Their chiefest drink is mares milke sowred, as I have said before of the Nagayans, & they wilbe drunk with the same. They have no rivers nor places of water in this countrey, until you come to the foresaid gulf, distant from the place of our landing 20. dayes journey, except it be in wels, the water wherof is saltish, & yet distant the one from the other two daies journey and more. They eate their meate upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them, and so also when they pray. Art or science they have none, but live most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, devising, and talking most vainely.

The 26. day of November, we departed from the towne of Urgence, and having travailed by the river Oxus, 100. mile, we passed over another great river called Ardock, where we paid a certaine pety custome. This river Ardock is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, and passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing under the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I have before declared.

The 7. of December following, we arrived at a Castle called Kait, subject to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan, who meant to have robbed all the Christians in the caravan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Urgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest counsellers, who willed us to make him a present, which we tooke, and delivered: besides, we paid at the said

castle for custome, of every camel one red hide of Russia, besides pety gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our journey, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came unto us foure horsemen, which we tooke as spies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and having well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many horsemen, and no footing of camels, & gave us to understand, that there were rovers and theeves abroade: for there travaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caravan, where there be many camels: and horsefeeting new without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted & determined amongst our selves, and sent a poste to the said Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himselfe with 300. men, and mette these foure suspected men which we sent unto him, and examined them so streightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with 40. men 3. daies journey forward, who lay in wait to destroy us, if he could, and that they themselves were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore understanding, that the theeves were not many, appointed us 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with us, and conduct us in our way: And the Soltan himselfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeves with him. These souldiers travailed with us two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely they set out before our Caravan, and having ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they mette us, comming towards us as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had founde the tract of horses not farre from us, perceiving well that we should meete with enemies, and therefore willed us to appoint our selves for them, and asked us what wee would give them to conduct us further, or else they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would have more: and so we not agreeing they departed from us, and went back to their Soltan, who (as wee conjectured) was privie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had been at Mecha) caused the whole Caravan to stay, and would make their prayers, and devine howe wee should prosper in our journey and whether we should meet with any i

company or no? To which, our whole Caravan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, using many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same devined and found, that wee shoulde meete with enemies and theeves (to our great trouble) but should overcome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gave no credit, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from us, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we escried farre off divers horsemen which made towards us, and we (perceiving them to be rovers) gathered our selves together, being 40. of us wel appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together every one after his lawe, professing to live and die one with another, and so prepared our selves. When the theeves were nigh unto us, we perceived them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed us to yeelde our selves, or els to be slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shotte at us all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning until two houres within night, divers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and used, we had bene overcome and destroyed: for the theeves were better armed, and were also better archers then we; But after wee had slaine divers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approch so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with us untill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selves upon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, calling it about with packes of wares, and laide our horses and camels within the same to save them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeves also incamped within an arrowe shotte of us, but they were betwixt us and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeves sent a messenger halfe way unto us, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their

tongue, the Caravan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince understanding as well himselfe as his company, swore so loude that we might all heare. And then we sent one of our company (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the Caravan Basha, and of all you that be Bussarmans, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliver into his hands as many Caphars, that is, unbeleevers (meaning us the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee overcome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Caravan Basha answered, that he had no Christians in his company, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliver them, and that we were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should he know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theeves (contrary to their othe) caried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victory, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray us: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to us prejudiciall, neither touching us, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selves to batte againe: which the theeves perceiving, required to fall to agreement & asked much of us: And to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loth to go to batte againe, and having litle to loose, & safeconduct to passe we were compelled to agree, and to give the theeves 2 ninths (that is to say) 20 times 9 severall things, and a camell to cary away the same, which being received, the theeves departed into the wildernes to their old habitation and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the river Oxus, where we refreshed our selves, having bene 3. dayes without water and drinke, and tarried ther

all the next day, making mery with our slaine horses and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the said theeves againe or such like, we left the high way which went along the said river, and passed through a wildernes of sand, and travelled 4 dayes in the same before we came to water: and then came to a wel, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eate.

In this wildernes also we had almost fallen into the hands of theeves: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a litle separated from the Caravan, wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and drove sore till we came to the river Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the said river: & whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theeves were far from us when the scouts discovered us, we knowe not, but we escaped that danger.

So upon the 23 day of December wee arrived at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with divers gates into the same: it is divided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and every science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially bathstoves so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little river running through the middest of the said Citie, but the water there of is most unholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and every day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled up, and so worketh till she be all out. And yet it is there forbidden

to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whosoever is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who have authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if he have either Aquavitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoile the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceive but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this law to bee so streightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as he did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the sayd Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night slewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loved all Christians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subject to the Persians, & do now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruel warres continually with the sayd Persians about their religion, although they be all Mahometists. One occasion of their wars is, for that the Persians will not cut the haire of their upper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great sinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, unbeleevers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his revenues are but small, and he is most mainteined by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there solde, as well by the craftsmen as by the marchants, to the great impoverishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subjection, and when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the shoppes of the sayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will have credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kersey. Their money is silver and copper, for gold there is none currant: they have but one piece of silver, & that is worth 12 Pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the said 12. pence, and is more common paiment then the silver, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most advantage every

other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he loketh not to reigne above 2 or 3 yeres before he be either slaine or driven away, to the great destruction of the countrey and merchants.

The 26 day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the said king, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letters, who interteined us most gently, and caused us to eate in his presence, and divers times he sent for me, and devised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our countries, lawes, and religion, and caused us to shoote in handguns before him, and did himselfe practise the use thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and saw me not payd before his departure. And although indeede he gave order for the same, yet was I verie ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better paiment I could not have, and glad I was so to be paid and dispatched.

But yet I must needs praise & commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arrivall at Boghar, having understoode our trouble with the theeves, sent 100 men well armed, and gave them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd theeves. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernes in such sort, that they met with the said company of theeves, and slew part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought unto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our gunnes: And after the king had sent for me to come to see them, he caused them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me, and his good justice I found at his hands.

There is yerely great resort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which travaile in great Caravans from the countries thereabout adjoining, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with divers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Marchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, bring two or 3 yeeres to sell the same, that there is no

hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresayd Countreys, are these following.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, & al other kinds of whites, which serve for apparell made of coton wooll and crasko, but golde, silver, precious stones, and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceived that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the vaines where all such things are gotten are in the subjection of the Portingals: The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought silkes, red hides, slaves, and horses, with such like, but of Kerseis and other cloth, they make little accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of those Countreis, which came from the furthest parts of India, even from the countrey of Bengala, & the river Ganges, to give them Kersies for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as cloth.

The Persians do bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen cloth, divers kindes of wrought pide silkes, Argo macks, with such like, and doe carie from thence redd hides with other Russe wares, and slaves, which are o divers countreies, but cloth they will by none, for tha they bring thither themselves, and is brought unto ther as I have inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts o Turkie. The Russes doe carie unto Boghar, redde hides sheepeskinnes, wollen cloth of divers sorts, woodde vessels, bridles, saddles, with such like, and doe cari away from thence divers kindes of wares made of cotto wool, divers kinds of silkes, Crasca, with other things but there is but smal utterance. From the Countreis o Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, and whe the way is open, musk, rubarbe, satten, damaske, wit divers other things. At my being at Boghar, there cam Caravans out of all these foresaid Countries, except fro Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thenc was the great warres that had dured 3 yeres before m comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countri & cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt th said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbaro fielde people, as well Gentiles as Mahometists borderin to the said Cities. The cities are called Taskent an Caskar, and the people that warre against Taskent a

called Cassaks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the sayd countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. These 2 barbarous nations are of great force living in the fields without house or towne, & have almost subdued the foresaid cities, & so stopped up the way, that it is impossible for any Caravan to passe unspoiled: so that 3 yeres before our being there, no Caravan had gone, or used trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths journey.

To speake of the said countrey of Cathay, and of such newes as I have heard thereof, I have thought it best to reserve it to our meeting. I having made my solace at Boghar in the Winter time, and having learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other countries thereto adjoyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Caravans to depart, and also the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and I advertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my journey some way, and determined to have gone from thence into Persia, and to have seene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at Astracan, as at Boghar: and perceived well the trades not to be much unlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I should have taken my journey that way, it was let by divers occasions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were destroyed: and there was a Caravan destroied with rovers & theeves, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten daies journey from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperors letters of Russia from me, without which I should have bene taken slave in every place: also all such wares as I had received in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, & other his Nobles, in paiment of money due unto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes, and divers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium, the same way I went: so that the eight of March 1559, we departed out of the said Citie of Boghar, being a Caravan of 600 Camels: and if we had not

departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to have lost life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, & besieged the said Citie of Boghar, the king being absent, and gone to the wars against another prince, his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries once in two or three yeres. For it is marvell, if a King reigne there above three or foure yeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

The 25 of March, we came to the foresayd towne of Urgence, and escaped the danger of 400 rovers, which lay in waite for us backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that company of theeves, which we met with going foorth, as we perceived by foure spies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambassadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were sent unto the Emperor of Russia. And after having taried at Urgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight daies for the assembling, and making ready of our Caravan, the second of Aprill we departed from thence, having foure moe Ambassadors in our companie, sent from the king of Urgence, and other Soltans, his brethren, unto the Emperor of Russia, with answere of such letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadors were also committed unto my charge by the sayde Kings and princes: to whome I promised most faithfully, and swore by our law, that they should be well used in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperor had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, of long time before.

The 23 of Aprill, we arrived at the Mare Caspium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor saile: neverthelesse wee brought hempe with us, and spunne a cable ourselves, with the rest of our tackling, and made us a saile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being devising to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arrived a barke, which came from Astracan, with Tartars and Russes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we set saile and departed, I, and the two Johnsons being Master

and Mariners our selves, having in our barke the said sixe ambassadors, and 25 Russes, which had bene slaves a long time in Tartaria, nor ever had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these slaves served to rowe when neede was. Thus sailing sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of lande, the 13. day of May, having a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being three leagues from the shoare, & there rose a sore storme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anker, and being off a lee shoare, and having no boate to helpe us, we hoysed our saile, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God provided for us, we ranne into a creeke ful of oze, and so saved our selves with our barke, & lived in great discomfort for a time. For although we should have escaped with our lives the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should have bene, either destroyed, or taken slaves by the people of that Countrey, who live wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seased, we went out of the creeke againe: and having set the land with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we ridde at our anker, we went directly to the place where we ridde, with our barke againe, and found our anker which wee lost: whereat the Tartars much marveiled, how we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of cart wheeles, which we had in our barke, which we threw away, when wee had found our yron anker againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the Northeast, and we lay a trie, being driven far into the sea, and had much ado to keepe our barke from sinking, the billowe was so great: but at the last, having faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the land lay from us, we fel with the River Yaik, according to our desire, whereof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee should have bene driven to the coast of Persia, whose people were unto them great enemies.

Note, that during the time of our Navigation, wee set up the redde crosse of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was never seene in the Caspian sea before. We passed in this voyage divers fortunes: notwithstanding the 28. of May we arrived in

safetie at Astracan, and there remained till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare us small boates, to goe up against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadours of Tartarie, committed unto me, to bee brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia.

This Caspian sea (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 150. without any issue to other seas: to the East part whereof, joyneth the great desert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the countreyes of the Chyrcasses, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the river Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part joyne the countreys of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Rivers falling into it, and it avoideth not it selfe except it be under ground. The notable Rivers that fall into it, are first the great River of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Novogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the Sea, above two thousande English miles. It hath divers other goodly Rivers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic and Yem: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the Rivers of Cyrus and Arash, and divers others.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Persia, I have enquired, and do well understand, that it is even like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little utterance, and small profite: and I have bene advertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Levant sea. The fewe shippes upon the Caspian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the povertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Astracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to give them kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offred them, which was sixe rubbles for a kersie, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Persia, Cloth, and divers commodities of our countries, which were sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of June, we departed from Astracan towards the Mosco, having an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperors charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartar Ambassadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of July following, wee arrived at the citie of Cazan, having bene upon the way from Astracan thither, sixe weekes and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

The seventh of August folowing, wee departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: so that the second of September, we arrived at the citie of Mosco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Majestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaves: and that day I dined in his Majesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, & asked me divers questions touching the lands and countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Mosco about your affaires, until the 17. day of February that your wares were sent downe: and then having licence of the Emperors Majestie to depart, the 21. day I came to your house at Vologhda, and there remained until the breaking up of the yere: and then having seene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the same, and arrived withall in safetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Mosco in	55	10
Novogrod the great	58	26
Novogrod the lesse	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Astracan	47	9

	Deg.	Min.
At the entrance into the Caspian sea.	46	72
Manguslave beyond the Caspian sea.	45	00
Urgence in Tartary 20. dayes journey from the Caspian sea.	42	18
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes journey from Urgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Johnson (which was at Boghar with M. Anthony Jenkinson) of the reports of Russes and other strangers, of the wayes of Russia to Cathaya, and of divers and strange people.

The first note given by one named Sarnichoke a Tartarian subject to the Prince of Boghar, which are also Tartars bordering upon Kizilbash or Persia, declaring the way from Astracan, being the furthest part of Russia, to Cathaya as foloweth.

First from Astracan to Serachick by land, travailing by leysure as Merchants use with wares, is 10. dayes journey.

From Serachick to a towne named Urgenshe, 15. dayes.

From Urgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

From Boghar to Cascar, 30. dayes.

From Cascar to Cathaya, 30. dayes journey.

By the same partie a note of another way more sure to traveile, as he reporteth.

From Astracan to Turkemen by the Caspian sea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by lande specially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Urgenshe.

From Urgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

Note. At this Citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those parts and the Cathayans.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

From thence to Cascar is one moneths journey, and from Cascar (being the frontier of the great Can, having many townes and fortes by the way) is also a moneths travel for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further, as he hath heard (not having bene in those

parts himselfe) ships may saile from the dominions of Cathaia unto India. But of other waies, or how the seas lie by any coast hee knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countreymen which have bene there.

First from Astracan by sea to Serachick is 15 daies: affirming also that a man may travell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Urgence is 15 dayes.

From Urgence to Boghar also 15 dayes.

Note. These last 30 daies journey is without habitation of houses: therefore travellers lodge in their owne tents, cariyng with them to eate, their severall provisions: and for drinesse there bee many wels of faire water at equall baiting places not farre distant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent easie travelling with goods, is 14 dayes by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 dayes.

From Occient to Cascar 20 daies. This Cascar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reshit can.

From Cascar to Sowchick 30 daies journey, which Sowchick is the first border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 daies journey, and from Camchick to Cathay is 2 moneths journey, all the way being inhabited, temperate, & wel replenished with innumerable fruits, & the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 daies journey from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praise to be civill & unspeakeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay, the most part therof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also, as the Tartars report, is christian, or after the maner of Christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in travelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolves white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these parts of Russia, but in maner rather scant then

plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts (as namely one in Russe called Barse) are in those coasts. This Barse appeareth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be nere so great as a big lion spotted very faire and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Note that 20 daies journey from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liveth the beast that beareth the best Muske, & the principall therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are taunie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they have certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the sunne round like a bosse upon their shoulders, and women on their privie parts. Their feeding is raw flesh in the same land, and in another called Titay: the Duke there is called Can. They worship the fire, and it is 34 dayes journey from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with knives of golde, and are called Comorom, and the land of small people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as foloweth, which note was sent out of Russia from Giles Holmes.

First from the province of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora traveiling with Olens or harts, is sixe dayes journey by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the river of Ob.

The Ob is a river full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles over. And from thence three dayes journey on the right hand is a place called Chorno-lese, to say in English, blacke woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his description after the Irish fashion.

From Pechey-cony to Joult Calmachey three dayes journey, & from thence to Chorno Callachay three dayes tending to the Southeast.

These two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell upon the river Ob, and upon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and travailed by a Russe borne in Colmogro, whose name was Pheodor Towtigin, who by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the said countreys.

Upon the East part beyond the countrey of Ugori, the river Ob is the most Westermost part thereof. Upon the sea coast dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomsey, whose meate is flesh of Olens, or Harts, and Fish, and doe eate one another sometimes among themselves. And if any Marchants come unto them, then they kill one of their children for their sakes to feast them withall. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be evill of sight, and have small noses, but they be swift and shoote very well, and they travaile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They have no Marchandise but Sables onely.

2 Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those people, and by the sea side also doth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, having another language. One moneth in the yeere they live in the sea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchandise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call Pselts) and Harts skinnes, and Fawnes skinnes.

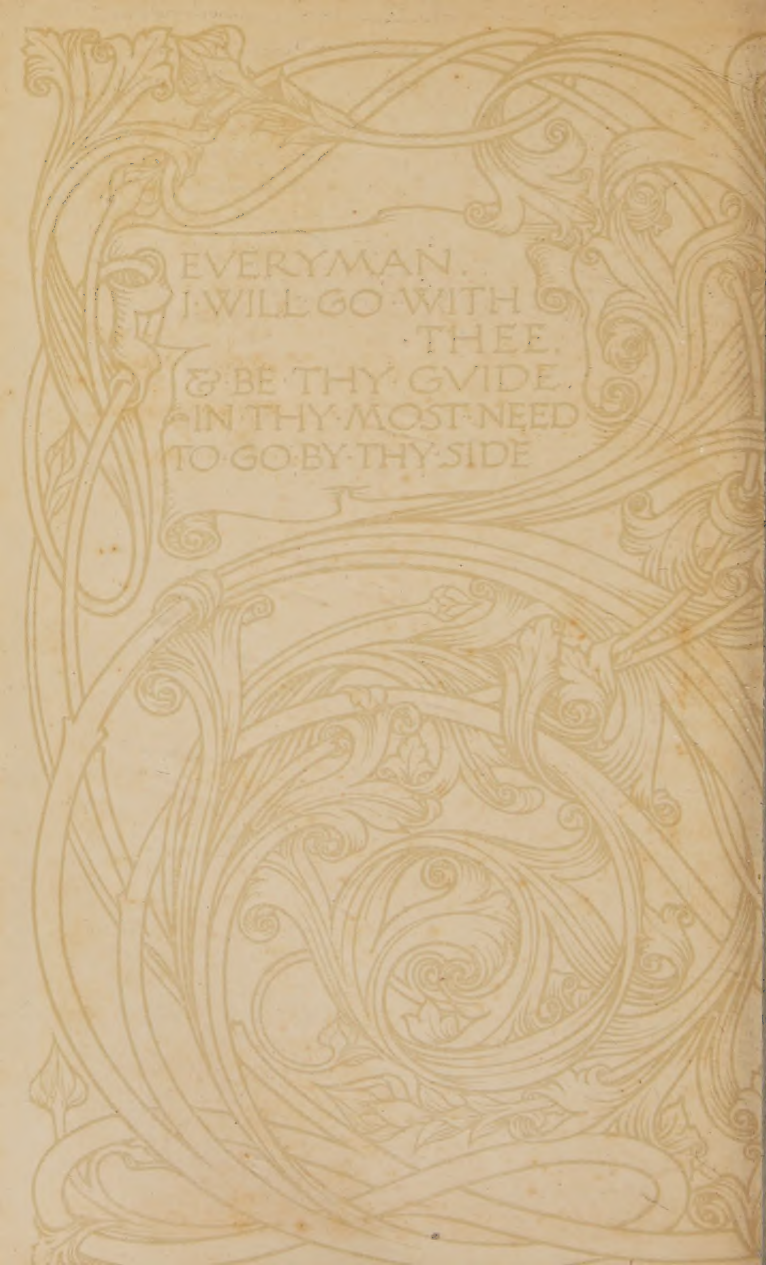
The relation of Chaggi Memet a Persian Marchant, to Baptista Ramusius, and other notable citizens of Venice, touching the way from Tauris the chiefe citie of Persia, to Campion a citie of Cathay over land: in which voyage he himselfe had passed before with the Caravans.

From Tauris to Soltania.	6	dayes journey.
From Soltania to Casbin.	4	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6	
From Veremi to Eri.	15	
From Eri to Boghara.	20	
From Boghara to Samarchand.	5	
From Samarchand to Cascar.	25	

From Cascar to Acsu.	20	dayes journey.
From Acsu to Cuchi.	20	
From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Chialis to Turfon.	10	
From Turfon to Camul.	13	
From Camul to Succuir.	15	
From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Gauta to Campion.	6	

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the province of Tangut, from whence the greatest quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

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EVERYMAN.
I WILL GO WITH
THEE.
& BE THY GVIDE.
IN THY MOST NEED
TO GO BY THY SIDE

